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- ART. I.—1. *The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records Stated Anew, with Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times. In Eight Lectures delivered in the Oxford University Pulpit, at the Bampton Lecture for 1859.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. Second Edition. Murray. 1860.
2. *The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, Decyphered and Translated. With a Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in general, and on that of Behistun in particular.* By MAJOR H. C. RAWLINSON, C.B., &c. J. W. Parker. 1846.
3. *A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, &c.* By MAJOR H. C. RAWLINSON. J. W. Parker. 1850.
4. *Outlines of Assyrian History, collected from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.* By LIEUT.-COLONEL RAWLINSON, C.B. J. W. Parker. 1852.
5. *Notes on the Early History of Babylonia.* By COLONEL RAWLINSON, C.B. J. W. Parker and Son. 1854.
6. *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions.* By COLONEL RAWLINSON, C.B. J. W. Parker and Son. 1854.
7. *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150, as Translated by SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, FOX TALBOT, Esq., DR. HINCKS, and DR. OPPERT.* Published by the Royal Asiatic Society. J. W. Parker and Son. 1857.
8. *Nineveh and its Remains, &c.* By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D.C.L. Two Volumes. Fifth Edition. Murray. 1850.

9. *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, &c.* By AUSTEN H. LAYARD, M.P. Murray. 1853.
10. *The History of Herodotus. A new English Version, with Copious Notes and Appendices, &c.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by COLONEL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. In Four Volumes. Murray. 1858.
11. *Eléments de la Grammaire Assyrienne.* Par M. JULES OPPERT. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale. 1860.
12. *Essays and Reviews.* Second Edition. J. W. Parker and Son. 1860.

It is becoming the fashion to laugh at the historical evidences of revelation as threadbare and obsolete. They are as much out of date with our modern religious Illuminists as the pike and cross-bow with our soldiers. Not only are their relations to Christian thought and life changed. Not only have the progress of knowledge and new intellectual tendencies brought them into associations, which render them less conspicuous than of old. They have lost their significance. Their authority is gone. They clutch a powerless sword in a dead hand. Such are the sentiments of what we fear we must believe to be the large and growing theological school, whose confession of faith the world has just received in the Oxford *Essays and Reviews*, a work which will long remain a marvel of hazy dogmatics, of subtle argumentation, of bewitching eloquence, and of gross polemical unfairness. It is matter of surprise to one of the contributors to this book, that Baron Bunsen—now, alas! the late Baron Bunsen—‘should add to his moral and metaphysical basis of prophecy a notion of foresight by vision of particulars;’ and he pathetically expresses the hope, that ‘he might have intended only the power of seeing the ideal in the actual, or of tracing the Divine government in the movements of men.’ ‘Fresh from the services of Christmas,’ indeed, ‘we may imagine we find Christ in the 53rd of Isaiah and the Messianic Psalms:’—but let the charm of the season pass away; and, if all that Germany has discovered the last fifty years be not lost upon us, we shall confess, that nothing but the dreams of Church fathers and the declamation of modern rhetoric can make prophecy miraculous. So much for one of the outer supports of the faith. And in regard to the other, a second of these same writers tells us, that ‘the enlarged critical and inductive study of the natural world cannot but tend powerfully to evince the inconceivableness of imagined interruptions of natural order, or supposed suspensions of the

laws of matter.' To suppose, that is to say, that Naaman's leprosy was cured by dipping in the Jordan, or that Lazarus rose from the dead at the bidding of Christ, is not compatible with our present scientific enlightenment. Miracles are relative to man's belief. They are what the religious sentiment makes them. The phenomena, which the men who saw them, and the ages that believed in them, supposed to be the supernatural workings of almighty power, we now know to be as strictly the effects of a necessary physical causation as the growth of a fungus or the eruption of a volcano. Indeed, the whole historical foundation of Christianity is rotten, and must be abandoned. It is idle any longer to treat the Bible as a record of facts. Geology forbids it. Ethnology, philology, chronology, geography, all forbid it. You must make Moses square with Lyell and Manetho; you must prove that the Ojibway and the Maori languages have been developed alike within a few thousand years from the same primitive type; Joshua and Copernicus, Daniel and Herodotus, St. Luke and Josephus, must be brought into agreement, before a philosophical criticism can allow the historical truth of Scripture. The sacred writers did not intend to deceive us, when they put legend and myth in place of realities. They were themselves deceived. They were wise in their generation; but they did not escape the contagion of the prejudice and error amidst which they lived. Undesignedly, it may be, but most certainly they have delivered to us as the word of God what God never spake, what our understanding and moral instincts unite to thrust from us as utterly irreconcilable with the constitution of things and the perfections of the Divine nature. With respect to Him, indeed, whose teaching is paramount in the Bible, we wish our Essayists had been less reserved than they are. They do not say that Christ Himself must be included in their general doctrine of the ignorance and fallibility, which go hand in hand with inspiration. But they ought to have said this. For the sake of their candour, we regret their omitting to do so. With scarcely an exception, such is their meaning, if they mean any thing at all, as many broad hints make only too painfully manifest. Now we do not deny, that the historical argument for revelation has been sometimes stated without due discrimination, and that the importance of other parts of the evidence has been too frequently lost sight of or undervalued. Neither do we deny, that the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures, as it has been sometimes held among orthodox Christians, has taken forms which would hardly bear the tests of reason and fact. Much less do we deny, that the march of knowledge may not require the Church to revise her inter-

pretation of certain portions of the word of God. She has done this before; and it may be incumbent upon her to do it again. Possibly we could lay our finger on certain commonly received views of particular Scriptures, which, if scrutinized under the lights of a genuine Christian criticism, would be seen to be as untenable—we dare not say as absurd—as Dr. Temple's idealistic man, or Dr. Williams's theory, that 'the fierce ritual of Syria, with the awe of a Divine voice, bade Abraham slay his son,' or as the amazing assumptions of Mr. Goodwin, another of our Essayists, in his paper on the 'Mosaic Cosmogony,' or Professor Jowett's affirmation,—only one example, we grieve to think, of a large number of similar affirmations,—that it is not suitable for us to wash one another's feet, as Christ commanded us, 'because the customs of society do not admit of it.' But, allowing all this, we protest alike against the principles and the logic of this modern biblical scepticism. The picture which it draws of the belief of intelligent orthodoxy is for the most part a discreditable caricature. Take for instance the representation of Mr. Goodwin, in the Essay just referred to, where he assumes that Moses is understood as teaching, that the birds of the air, as well as the fish and marine animals, were brought forth by the waters on the fifth day. It propounds as indisputable fact whatever in science or literature opposes the letter of Scripture, and with an uncritical and supercilious dogmatism which would be amusing, were its consequences only less serious. Cardinal Wiseman does not create history with greater assurance in his *Fabiola* than do our Rationalists vouch for the historical character of the dynasties of Manetho, or the certainty of the conclusions they draw as to the antiquity of the human race from Mr. Horner's borings in the Nile mud on the site of Memphis. It taunts the popular faith in the Bible with inconsistency, at the very time that its most distinguished representatives stand in direct antagonism to each other. We have a notable example of this in the case of the Book of Daniel. With one class of our sceptics the book is so true to history, that it cannot but have been written after the events related in it; with another it is a pretended prophecy, which will not bear for a moment to be confronted with the events it professes to fore-show. Last of all, it habitually ignores or treats with affected contempt a great mass of arguments, on which the received views of the authority and contents of the Bible ground themselves, and which it is bound to dispose of before it can maintain its own positions. Butler and Paley are not to be got rid of with a sneer. Nor have their reasonings, we are bold to say, a whit the less value, because Ewald and Strauss have

put a new face upon the documents of our faith. Is there no alternative between receiving Murchison and rejecting Moses? Must relative truth of necessity be absolute falsehood? Do we lie, when we say the sun sets and rises? Or, if this be not our clue, is cutting knots the philosophical way of escaping from difficulties? Suppose we were to wait awhile for the resolution of some of them! We have done so before with eminent advantage both to Scripture and science. To affirm that the Exodus is no miracle to us, though it was to the Jews, is simply to put an end to all knowledge by making the phenomenal world dependent on the mental, and by confounding the objects of thought with the thinking principle itself. And in regard to the inspiration of the Bible, which Rationalism reduces to a shadow, let sober men content themselves, as they may very well do, with the moral certainty—a certainty resting on a sure historical and argumentative basis, not the creature merely of tradition, or prejudice, or whim—that the Scriptures, as we have them in our ordinary versions, to say nothing of the original texts, are the word of God to man, true, authoritative, and immutable. What this inspiration is, we may be unable precisely to define; we doubt the wisdom of attempting a rigid definition of it. And to endeavour, as has often been done, to draw a line between the supernatural and the human element in revelation, we hold to be equally unphilosophical and irreverent. They are crystallized together, and no mechanics or chemistry of criticism can possibly sunder them. We agree with Professor Jowett, that ‘the nature of inspiration can only be known from the examination of Scripture,’ and that ‘we have no right to assume some imaginary doctrine’ in place of ‘that idea of Scripture, which we gather from the knowledge of it.’ We desire nothing more, than that the question should be brought to this issue. And it is the systematic violation of this great principle, of which we complain so strongly both in himself, and in the school of which he is a member. We suppose we belong to those ‘ill-instructed quarters,’ of which ‘Christianus’ spoke so compassionately when apologizing in *The Times* a while since for the *Essays and Reviews*; but so far as the generally recognised foundations of Christianity are concerned, we do not see that the modern Rationalism has succeeded in stirring a single stone of them.

It is not a little remarkable, that, at the very period at which the historical truth of the Bible is so eagerly assailed, Divine Providence has raised up new and unexceptionable vouchers to its authenticity. One of the most striking signs of our times, perhaps, is the unearthing and resurrection of the old world,

that is going on before our eyes. 'The sides of the pit,' where a long-buried antiquity lay wrapped in its cerecloths, have suddenly yielded up their dead; and the men and the homes, the institutions and the literature of forgotten generations are becoming familiar forms to our children of yesterday. It is marvellous; and the results are such as might be looked for. New stars break out in the firmament of history. Light shows in its dark places. Its chasms are bridged over. Its riddles and puzzles receive their explanation. Old errors are exploded. Old controversies are settled. Better than all, truth girds herself with strength in the presence of her enemies, and the fears of timid faith are rebuked by her mild but emphatic assurance, that 'the foundation of God standeth sure.' The past, too, which is thus strangely recovered to us, is the very past the testimony of which to the truth of revelation was most needed. Tacitus's '*licentia vetustatis*' was never more strikingly illustrated, than in the liberties which the Rationalism of the close of the last and the beginning of the present century took with the historical records of the Old Testament. Egypt and Assyria were famous weapons for fighting Moses and the Prophets. You could always find something, if not in Berosus and Manetho, at any rate in Ctesias, to contradict, either in fact or appearance, the history of the Bible. To such a length was this polemic carried, that the unhistorical character of the Old Testament came to be commonly regarded as a settled point, and the Sanballat of scepticism shook his sides unchecked over the walls which the older faith endeavoured vainly to rebuild. But things are altered, and the laughter is going over to the enemy. The primeval nations, that piled their glorious homes on the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile, are among us again with their archives in their hands; and they mutely but impressively point to them as unanswerable argument in support of what ages on ages have agreed to believe without doubting,—the simple historic truth of the Hebrew Scriptures.

To present the argument for the historical truth of Scripture as a whole, and particularly with reference to the light which the arrow-headed inscriptions of Assyria, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, Persia, Armenia, and adjacent regions shed upon the writings of Moses and his inspired successors, is the object of Mr. Rawlinson in the Bampton Lectures, which he delivered in 1859, and the title of the second edition of which, as since published, we have given in full at the head of this article. 'The novelty of the Lectures,' Mr. Rawlinson states in his Preface, 'will, he feels, consist chiefly, if not solely, in the exhibition of the points of contact and agreement' between the sacred history and the Cuneiform records; 'and the circumstance of his having

this novelty to offer was his chief inducement to attempt a work on the subject.' We could wish the learned author had limited himself to this special topic. As it is, his range is so wide, that he often moves with a rapidity which gives the impression of superficial treatment; or he reproduces facts which have been stated a hundred times before, and with which everybody is more than familiar. What might have been lost in compass would have been more than gained, as we think, in depth and weight, if Mr. Rawlinson had confined himself to the Old Testament and the Cuneiform, and had wrought his argument in greater detail and completeness within this narrower and less frequented sphere of biblical inquiry. Such, at any rate, are the bounds to which we intend almost wholly to restrict ourselves in dealing with his book; and, in pursuance of this design, we shall take a survey, in the outset, of the great field of antiquarian research and discovery, the fruits of which he has turned to so good account in this valuable addition to our English Biblical Literature.

It is well known that, in most of the countries lying between the Caspian, the Persian Gulf, and the Mediterranean, monuments of vast antiquity and of very various description are found inscribed with characters, which, from their likeness to barbs or wedges, have been styled the Cuneiform or arrow-headed writing. In the huge wreck of Nineveh, under the shadows of Mount Elwend, at Susa and Persepolis, on the crags of Ván, amidst the dreary solitudes of Babylon, in a thousand other localities of the region we have named, the traveller encounters these strange memorials of a life and civilization that were thriving when the world was young. Sometimes they are deeply cut, as at Behistun in Western Persia, on the smoothed face of a precipice; sometimes they cover the sculptured marbles of royal palaces, as at Nimrúd and Khorsábád; sometimes they appear on pillars, obelisks, tablets, bricks, vases, cylinders, gems. As might be expected, they differ greatly in size. In some cases the component wedges are several inches long, and of proportionate breadth, tall, stout, masculine characters, which he who runs may read: in others they have an almost microscopic minuteness, as if a lady hand had traced them with the point of a very fine needle. The style, too, in which they are executed is as various as their magnitude. Now they exhibit a sharpness, a delicacy, and a finish, such as Greece herself, in the palmiest days of her glyptic cunning, might be proud to own; now they are as rough and ungainly as the letters which crawl about a Saxon styca. At the same time diversities of age, place, occasion, and fancy, have caused the

Cuneiform characters to take shapes as unlike one another, as the coarse and irregular black letter of two or three centuries ago is unlike the elegant Roman of a Pickering or the Clarendon. On painted bricks belonging to one of the Nimrúd palaces, for example, Mr. Layard found the universal wedge under the disguise of a hammer-head; and 'in inscriptions on Babylonian bricks the wedges are also frequently replaced by mere lines.'

The differences observable in the arrow-headed writing, however, are not simply circumstantial. While it is more than possible, that, under all its modifications, it may have sprung from an original type, having Assyria as its birth-place and father, it is written in several distinct alphabets, in each of which the elementary wedge is treated and disposed after a fashion which marks it off very definitely from its fellows. Three great divisions of the Cuneiform, answering, as it would seem, to as many great primeval types of human speech, and, happily for literature and history, not uncommonly written side by side in the trilingual monuments of the Achæmenian monarchs, are distinguished by our scholars.

The first of these has been variously styled the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Assyro-Babylonian. This type of the Cuneiform, the most ancient, various, wide-spread, and long-lived of its race, divides itself into two main branches, the Assyrian and the Babylonian; and each of these again admits of fewer or more subordinate divisions. The Assyrian, beginning perhaps with the three-and-twentieth century before Christ, is found in its simplest and earliest form in one of the palaces at Nimrúd, and in some of the rock inscriptions of Armenia. Later in date than the Nimrúd character referred to, but yet of high antiquity, and belonging to the same class of the Cuneiform, are the inscriptions on the celebrated black obelisk from Nimrúd, and on the marbles from Khorsábád and Koyunjik, the sculptures of which have now for some years past excited so much interest in the visitors to the National Museums of France and England. Beside these more conspicuous monuments we have bricks, tiles, tablets, cylinders, and other ancient relics, showing the same type of arrow-headed writing; and 'it is on the tablets and cylinders of baked clay,' as Layard mentions, 'that the Assyrian character becomes most complex, partly through the substitution of forms not used on the monuments,' partly through multiplication of the wedges and other modifications of the primitive alphabet. With the Assyrian Cuneiform, likewise, we may provisionally rank certain forms of character found in Susiana and Elymais; though the affinities of these are at present undetermined, and no key has yet opened the languages they represent. Allied to the Assyrian, but in

what precise line or degree of kinship we do not as yet know, is the other great member of this first division of the Cuneiform, the Babylonian. It is met with in two leading varieties:—the type which it exhibits on bricks, tablets, cylinders, &c., which is evidently the older of the two; and that under which it presents itself in the famous inscription of Darius Hystaspis at Behistun, with the other trilingual monuments of the Kings of the line of Achæmenes. The more ancient type is found on bricks belonging to the foundations of the old Chaldæan, Babylonian, and Mesopotamian cities, as well as on cylinders and other objects which occur among their ruins. Only recently the cylinders of Mûgeyer on the Lower Euphrates, written over with this character, have told us, that it was there Abraham lived before he dwelt in Haran. The vast site of Babylon is covered with bricks and fragments of pottery, stamped with this same type of the arrow-heads. Indeed, its grim but venerable face shows wherever you turn in this now desolate fatherland of human history. Nearly related to it, yet distinguished by very obvious features, is the Babylonian Cuneiform of the trilingual inscriptions; a kind which, singularly enough, while it resembles no one specimen of the older Babylonian as yet discovered, is itself written with an almost absolute uniformity at Behistun, at Ván, at Persepolis, and wherever else it is met with. Both these types of the Cuneiform are remarkable for their intricacy. The Achæmenian is the simpler of the two, though sufficiently alarming to keep all fancy-scholars at a distance. As for the writing of the cylinders, it might have been framed for the purpose of proving to the uttermost the philological learning and acuteness of after generations. The language which the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform embodies, has been satisfactorily determined to be fundamentally and mainly of the same class, of which the Egyptian on the one hand, and the Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramæan on the other, are well-known members. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, its connexion 'is almost as close with the African as with the Asiatic branch of the so-called Semitic family.' Now its forms are Coptic; now they are Hebrew; now they stand midway between them, like both, but identical with neither. That it is Semitic, however, in all its varieties and dialects, is unquestionable. The character of its elementary sounds, the laws which regulate the constitution of its syllables, the tri-consonantal form of its verbal roots, the relations which the noun and the verb hold to one another, the absence of neuter gender, the use of pronominal suffixes both of the genitive and accusative, the conjugational peculiarities of the verb, its numeral system; its vocabulary, the

whole texture and mechanism of its syntax, all connect it with this most venerable type of human speech. For abundant proof and illustration of its Semitic affinities we must refer our readers to the writings of Sir H. Rawlinson, and to what we can hardly consider less than one of the wonders of the age, the brief but scholarly and deeply interesting *Grammaire Assyrienne* of M. Oppert of Paris. It must not be forgotten, however, that the study of the long-lost language of Nineveh and Babylon is still in its infancy; and much remains to be done before we can render with ease and confidence the complex characters, in which it has come down to us. The marvel is that we know as much of it as we do. Only imagine yourself sitting down to make out an absolutely unknown tongue, a tongue which no mortal has spoken for ages, and that written in characters, the powers and functions of which are equally unknown to you, such, indeed, as, in all probability, are more unlike any with which you are acquainted than the Chinese symbols or the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The prospect would not be inspiring. But suppose we had advanced a step or two, and had so far mastered our difficulty, as to have got an inkling both of the genius of the language and of the manner in which it was represented in writing. No doubt this would be something; though most people would think it cold comfort to find that by dint of Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Berber, and a few other languages, well compared and applied, we might recover the old Semitic idiom on which we had lighted. But a still more portentous barrier is in front of us. What can we make of the alphabet, which is, properly speaking, no alphabet, but a huge and clumsy aggregation of monograms, ideographs, polyphones, syllable-characters, and literal phonetics? Just try to conceive what it must be to read a writing, one character of which may be a sort of cypher representing the name of a god; the next a symbol, like one of Quarles's Emblems, or the pictures which stand for words in a child's story-book; then comes a third, representing perhaps a syllable, perhaps a letter, you can hardly tell which; after this a fourth which means sometimes *ab*, sometimes *ba*, or, if it be a simple consonant, gives you your choice of a guttural, a dental, or a sibilant, as circumstances may require. It is not too much to say, that this is an underdrawn view of the enormous difficulties which attend the study of this leading branch of the Cuneiform. Despite these difficulties, however, Sir H. Rawlinson was able so long ago as 1850 to inform us, that 'all the most important terms in the language' had been determined; and his own researches and those of others, who have laboured with

him in the same field of philological inquiry, have added much in the interval to the knowledge we then had of it.

Next to the Assyro-Babylonian, the so-called Median, or Scythic, forms the second great division of the arrow-headed writing. With the single exception of an inscription at Tarki, north of the Caucasus,—so, at least, Sir H. Rawlinson wrote some years since,—this type of the Cuneiform exists only on the rock monuments and other remains of the Achæmenians. It is found at Behistun, at Persepolis, at Hamadán, at Ván, wherever Cyrus and his successors have left their trilingual inscriptions; and it uniformly holds a place in them midway, 'either in actual position, or in relative convenience, between the original and vernacular Persian records on the one side,' hereafter to be noticed, 'and the Semitic transcripts on the other.' It was a natural inference from the fact last named, that the language which this character expressed, belonged to a people 'inferior to the native and dominant Persian, but superior to the conquered Babylonian;' and, considering the relation in which the Medes are known to have stood to the ruling race, it was no great stretch of philological faith to believe that the character in question represented the speech of this mysterious nation. Hence the name Median, as applied to the writing. And if later investigations do not substantiate the correctness of the appellation, their results are, at present, too few and vague to furnish us with a satisfactory substitute for it. In all probability the Scythic population of the Persian Empire was addressed by this class of the inscriptions; but we need more light before we can pronounce with confidence either upon the character of the language in which they are written, or upon the ethnology and ethnography of those who spoke it. Less progress has been made in the decyphering of this branch of the Cuneiform than with the Assyrian and Babylonian; yet something has been done, and there is promise of better harvests by and by. The alphabet is less elaborate than the Babylonian, but it is built on the same model. The letters change places with one another like the coloured beads in a kaleidoscope. Vowels, except when initial, inhere in the consonants. Like the Chinese, the Median Cuneiform frowns upon the letter *r*, and, as often as possible, uses *l* as its substitute. This latter liquid, and *n*, too, are very much at home in each other's chairs. The language itself is a puzzle. Syntactically, and to some extent in its vocabulary likewise, it is Aryan. Many Persian words, Sir H. Rawlinson states, particularly titles, have been introduced into it, 'in their full integrity both of sense and sound.' Yet it is Semitic also.

The pronouns, and some of its verbal roots, are evidently of this type. At the same time, 'the employment of postpositions and of pronominal possessive suffixes,' the manner in which gerundal forms are sometimes used, and the similarity, both in aspect and value, between certain particles occurring in the inscriptions, and those which obtain in the modern Tartar, suggest very strongly the idea, that the language is, to a great extent, Scythic. Whether the Scythic element be the woof and warp of the language, and the Aryan and other parts of it mere colouring and embroidery, or whether the reverse of this is the fact, may yet be doubtful. Sir H. Rawlinson, with the admirable caution which characterizes his researches and findings, leaves the question open. Possibly when London condescends to receive an ambassador from Peking, the savans of his suite may amuse themselves, between their kite-flying and their chop-sticks, in endeavouring to determine how far Darius Hystaspis had any sound knowledge of Mongol or Manjou.

Last, not least, among the various kinds of the Cuneiform, is the simple, stately, and elegant character, by means of which the Achæmenian Kings inform the world of their exploits in their own native language, and the reading and interpretation of which, so happily effected by Sir H. Rawlinson, have helped more than anything else to clear our way to the Assyrian and other less intelligible forms of the arrow-headed writing. The remains of the Persian Cuneiform are few in number; so few, indeed, that they have been published, with translations and elaborate notes, in a single octavo volume by Sir H. Rawlinson. Yet they are all of high philological interest, and some of them, at least, possess an historical value, which future scholars will be likely to rate even more highly than ourselves. The oldest of them belong to Cyrus the Great, the probable inventor of the character. They are found at Murgháb, the ancient Pasargadæ, where the conqueror of Babylon was buried, and consist of the words, 'I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian,' which are repeated several times among the ruins. Darius Hystaspis has not only given us the far-famed inscription of Behistun, of which below, but has left his mark likewise at Persepolis, and at Elwend, near Hamadán; still more impressively at Nakhsh-e-rustam, his burial-place; and elsewhere in two or three less important monuments. Xerxes, 'the supporter of this great world,' glorifies himself at Hamadán and Ván, as well as at Persepolis,—he does not mention Salamis and Platææ,—and seems, with vastly less reason, to have been fonder of appearing in print than even his magnificent father before him. There is

a legend of Xerxes, too, on the Caylus vase, with a translation in hieroglyphics. Artaxerxes Longimanus and Artaxerxes Mnemon either had no taste for Cuneiform, or time has deprived us of the proofs of it. No record of their reigns has been discovered; and it is doubtful whether we have any memorial of Darius Nothus. There are barbarous and clumsily executed, though important, inscriptions of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, at Persepolis; and a line of Cuneiform, belonging in all likelihood to this Monarch, occurs on a porphyry vase in the treasury of St. Mark's, at Venice. By far the longest and most valuable specimen of the Persian Cuneiform that has come down to us, however, is the splendid inscription on the scarpèd rock of Behistun, where Darius Hystaspis has published to posterity, in several hundred lines of writing, the principal deeds of his stirring reign. This is the inscription, the copying, deciphering, and expounding of which, have secured for Sir H. Rawlinson an imperishable name in the annals of literature, and have opened the door to a knowledge of the old historical nations of the world, such as our fathers never dreamt of. Grotefend, indeed, has the merit of having taken the first step or two towards determining the alphabet of the Persian Cuneiform; and the labours of Rask, Burnouf, and Lassen, particularly those of the last-named eminent orientalist, made important additions to the discoveries of their predecessor. It was reserved, however, for the acuteness, learning, and patience of Sir H. Rawlinson, and that in almost entire independence of the labours of previous or contemporary investigators, to construct a complete and satisfactory alphabet of the language, and to furnish connected, intelligible, and trustworthy renderings of the Behistun and other inscriptions of the same linguistic class. This he has done with so much success, that both the grammar and vocabulary of the language are, to a great degree, recovered to us, and we are now, for the most part, scarcely less sure of the meaning of a sentence in Persian Cuneiform, than of a passage of the Vêda, the Zend-Avesta, or even the Korân. The language is unquestionably Aryan. It is one of the elder brothers of the house to which the Sanskrit, Greek, Gaelic, Russian, and English belong. It cannot be mistaken. It left its home, no doubt, before profane history was born, and it has picked up some Scythic manners in its wanderings, but it has the build and features of the great Indo-European family. We know it from its likeness to its fellows. But for the Sanskrit, indeed, which it resembles so closely in its structure, and the Zend, with which it has so many orthographical peculiarities in common, in all probability it would still

lie in mystery behind its bristling defences. It is written in an alphabet of about forty characters, the powers of which are, to a great extent, identical with those of the Dévanāgarī and the language of the Zend-Avesta. There are but three vowel letters, as in Arabic. The short *a*, as in Sanskrit and Ethiopic, where no other vowel follows, inheres in the preceding consonant. The Indian series of sonant aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, &c., is altogether wanting. Nasals occupy a prominent place among the elementary sounds. The letter *l* is excluded from the list of semi-vowels. What is still more striking, an orthographical law prevails in the language, by which certain consonants are only employed in juxtaposition with certain vowels,—a peculiarity which points to Tartar influence, and is unshared by any other Aryan tongue. At the same time, the Tartar-like practice of the Zend, which inserts an *i* or *u* before a consonant, apparently for the purpose of establishing a harmony of vowel expression, is wanting in the cuneiform Persian. Neither does it use the *guna* and *vridddhi* of the Sanskrit, nor admit of the perplexing euphonic changes arising out of the collocation and composition of words, which mark the language of the Vēda, and, in a lower degree, the Greek and Latin likewise. Altogether, this fossil Persian, alike in its elements, its forms, and its syntax, exhibits a simplicity, crudeness, and unequal development, which, while they carry us back to a high antiquity for its origin, tell likewise of trouble and tossing, that befell it in the morning of its days.

Such, then, is an imperfect conspectus of the arrow-headed writings of the nearer East: writings which cover nearly the whole period of the postdiluvian Old Testament history; which contain original records of races, nations, and potentates, whose doings were closely interwoven, in many cases, with those of the forefathers and descendants of Abraham; and from which, on supposition of the truth of the Bible, we might expect to obtain important corroboration or illumination of certain portions, at least, of its inspired narrative. The interest which this last-named consideration threw about the inscriptions from the beginning, has only strengthened as we have worked our way further and further into their meaning. We will not say that the most sanguine expectations of the friends of revelation have been realized. At present we have only succeeded in spelling out a few of the mysteries over which we pore. We are still in the dark as to the precise signification of many of them. But one thing is settled. There is no more hope on this ground for Eichhorn and De Wette. Even the little we know of the Cuneiform abundantly confirms and illustrates what

'holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' After thousands of years' silence they come forward to tell us, that the primeval cities, both in name and situation, were such as the author of the Pentateuch states them to have been; that, much as the ethnology of Moses has been questioned, the statements he makes concerning the early inhabitants of the world, and the lines of migration along which they moved from the starting-point of the race, are neither blunder nor fiction; that the political condition and relations of the countries between the Tigris and the Mediterranean, from the dawn of history down to the times of Cyrus and his successors, were precisely those which the writers of the Old Testament one after another describe to us; and that, in particular, the Hebrew people are most accurately portrayed on the sacred pages, the very names of their towns, kings, neighbours, enemies, to say nothing of the general character of their national life and fortunes, being vouched for by the consenting signature of these disinterested or even hostile witnesses. The only way in which the pressure of this evidence can be escaped is, by disputing the interpretation of the inscriptions. This, however, is a shift that will not avail. The labours of the men who have worked upon them have been too independent of one another. The checks, which the natural love of originality and differences of judgment as to first principles have imposed upon their progress, have been too numerous and effectual. Finally, the general agreement which marks the result of their investigations, taken in connexion with what is scarcely less important in inquiries of this class, considerable diversity of detail, are too striking to allow of any serious doubt as to the substantial correctness of their conclusions. Many of our readers are aware that two or three years since, this question was brought to a practical issue, at the instance of Mr. Fox Talbot, by the Royal Asiatic Society. It was agreed that Mr. Talbot, Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and M. Oppert, all of whom were well-known students of the Cuneiform, should be requested, without any communication with one another, to translate certain portions of the great inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., (King of Assyria, B.C. 1150,) from an octagonal prism, found at Kaleh Sherghát, in Mesopotamia, and now preserved in the British Museum, and to send their renderings and notes in sealed packets to a committee appointed to examine and report upon them. The committee consisted of Dr. Milman, Dr. Cureton, Dr. Whewell, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Grote, and Professor Wilson; and we have their finding in print, with the names of the Dean of St. Paul's, the historians of Greece and Egypt, and the late lamented Boden

Professor of Sanskrit, appended to it. The gist of it is very candidly expressed by Professor Wilson. 'Upon the whole,' he says, 'the result of this experiment—than which a fairer test could scarcely be devised—may be considered as establishing, almost definitively, the correctness of the valuation of the *characters* of these inscriptions. It is possible that further investigations may find something to alter or to add; but the greater portion, if not the whole, may be read with confidence. It is somewhat different with respect to the words of the language. The almost invariable concurrence of the translators, in the general sense of the several paragraphs, shows that they are agreed to give the same interpretation to a very considerable portion—if not the larger portion—of the vocabulary. At the same time the differences prove that much remains to be effected before the sense of every term can be confidently rendered.' Dean Milman and Mr. Grote say, 'Having gone through this comparison, the examiners certify, that the coincidence between the translations, both as to the general sense and the verbal rendering, were very remarkable. In most parts there was a strong correspondence in the meaning assigned, and occasionally a curious identity of expression as to particular words. Where the versions differed very materially, each translator had, in many cases, marked the passage as one of doubtful or unascertained signification. In the interpretation of numbers, there was throughout a singular correspondence.' To this Sir J. G. Wilkinson adds, that the agreement between the translations was 'so great, as to render it unreasonable to suppose the interpretation could be arbitrary, or based on uncertain grounds,' and that it appears to him 'to be satisfactory, and to be the result of a sound principle, and not of arbitrary hypothesis.' We presume that these judgments will suffice for most unprejudiced minds; and, if they suggest the need of caution, they at least justify us in accepting the unanimous, or all but unanimous, decisions of our cuneiform scholars as making that near approach to moral certainty, against which it is idle to fence with suppositions of possible error.

To exhibit in full the confirmations of Old Testament history, which Mr. Rawlinson in his 'Lectures' has gathered from the arrow-headed writing,—and his series, as we have already intimated, is by no means exhaustive,—would carry this paper to an inordinate length. Agreeably to the design of it, however, we mention some of the chief of them as they stand in the order of time.

It is not a little interesting to find the inscriptions shedding

light on that most venerable table of genealogies and race-affinities contained in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Among the difficulties of the chapter, not an inconsiderable one is the statement, that Cush the Hamite was the father of Nimrod the Babylonian. How this could be, has been a weary puzzle with the critics; and, though Michaelis and others explained it by assuming the existence of an Asiatic as well as an African Ethiopia, the soundness of their theory was stoutly contested by scholars of the highest class, and the question seemed likely to remain permanently open. Bunsen denounces in the strongest terms the idea of a Cush in Asia, and declares it to be 'the child of the despair' of its supporters. The inscriptions say he is wrong; for they affirm, that the early inhabitants of the lower Euphrates were of the same stock with the primitive colonists both of Arabia and of the African Ethiopia; and Sir H. Rawlinson states, that the old Babylonian vocabulary is 'undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian,' and corresponds, to a surprising extent, with those ancient languages, 'of which we have the purest modern specimens in the Mahra of Southern Arabia, and the Galla of Abyssinia.' Another disputed point in the Mosaic ethnology is the alleged descent of the Canaanites from Ham. Bunsen denies the fact very positively in his *Philosophy of History*, and maintains that they were Semites. But the arrow-heads strike him again. The Canaanites, as they represent them, were a 'Scythic or Hamite people of the same blood with the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Libyans,' the Khatta, or Hittites of Scripture, being their chief tribe, and the Aramæans, Jews, and Phœnicians being 'Semitic immigrants,' who gradually mixed up with them. It is remarkable, too, that the inscriptions endorse the account which verses 10 and 11 give of the founding of the metropolis of Assyria. 'Out of that land,' namely, Shinar, or Lower Babylonia, 'went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh.' And this is the testimony of our newly risen witnesses. They furnish, as Mr. Rawlinson tells us, 'distinct evidence of the early predominance of Babylonia over Assyria, of the spread of population and civilization northwards, and of the comparatively late founding of Nineveh.' Last of all, so far as this part of the sacred records is concerned, the cuneiform writings confirm and illustrate the geography of Moses by the identifications which they have enabled us to make of the sites of certain ancient cities of the basin of the Mesopotamian rivers. 'Babel and Erech and Accad in the land of Shinar;' and, in the adopted country of Asshur, 'Nineveh and the city Rehoboth and Calah and Resen;'—what pangs of criticism have not been suffered over these names! But here they are,

some of them at least, on bricks, which their inhabitants dried in the sun or the kiln centuries before Homer rhapsodized, or the she-wolf lapped the overflowing of the Tiber. We need not be told where Babel was, 'the glory of the Chaldees' excellency.' Erech, it can hardly be doubted, is Warka, 'the city,' as the inscriptions on the spot emphatically style it; a mass of shapeless, lichened ruin-mounds, girded with swamps, some hundred and twenty miles S.E. of Babylon, and described with almost affecting picturesqueness by Mr. Loftus in his valuable book on Chaldaea and Susiana. Kinzi Accad, of which the monuments in this same region speak, is in all probability the Accad of Moses, though the site is at present undetermined. Calneh, the Nopher of the Talmud, appears to be the modern Niffer, which lies some sixty miles from Babylon, in the direction of Warka, about halfway between the Tigris and Euphrates. The bricks on the spot give it a name which seems to be equivalent to Calneh,—Tel Anu, or Noah's Hill. All these belong to the district called in the inscriptions *Sinkareh*, a name in which it requires no philologist's spectacles to see the Shinghar or Shinar of Genesis. As to the other group of names, Nineveh is well known to be represented by less or more of that huge outspread of ruins in the fork of the Tigris and the Greater Zab, to which Koyunjik and Khorsábad belong. Nimrúd, near the junction of the streams, is almost certainly the Scripture Calah; while Resen has been identified with the vast ruins of Kaleh Sherghát, a little above the union of the Lesser Zab and the Tigris.

We have already spoken of Múgeyer on the right bank of the Euphrates, not far from its junction with the Shat-el-Hie, as that 'Ur of the Chaldees'—Húr the name reads on the bricks and cylinders—where the God of glory first appeared to Abraham. Some of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions yet known, inscriptions dating as far back perhaps as the twenty-second century B.C., have been met with on this sacred site. Nearly midway between Múgeyer and Warka is Senkereh, the modern representative of another ancient Chaldean city, the Ellasar of which Arioch was King in the days of Abraham. This name naturally brings in another. What should we think of finding memorials of Arioch's military confederate and superior, 'Chedorlaomer, King of Elam,' within a few miles of Senkereh? Such appears to be the fact. The bricks and cylinders of Múgeyer furnish us with a list of Babylonian Monarchs, beginning with Uruk, B.C. 2230, and ending with Nabonidus, B.C. 540. At 'about the date which, from Scripture, we should assign to Chedorlaomer,' namely, early in the twentieth century B.C., there is a break in the series; and, while Elam, or Elymais, is

pointed to as the source of the interruption; a King Kudur-mabuk, as his name is read, who further bears the significant title of *Apda Martu*, or 'Ravager of the West,' is represented as being paramount in Babylonia at this period. And when we add to this the positive assurance of Sir H. Rawlinson, that Mabuk in Hamitic Babylonian is the exact counterpart of the Semitic Laomer, and find, moreover, that Berosus's list of the Babylonian Sovereigns exhibits a gap at this very same point in the chronology, we must confess to a cluster of coincidences in favour of the identity of the names, and of the truth of the Scripture history, which it requires either great learning or great boldness to treat as if they were nothing.

From Chedorlaomer we pass to the days of the Israelitish Judges, a space of several centuries, and one that embraces some of the most important events of Old Testament history. As to the whole of this period the cuneiform inscriptions, so far as we are acquainted with them, are entirely silent. And it would be strange if it were otherwise; for neither Babylonia nor Assyria had any political influence beyond the Euphrates till long after Israel had taken possession of the land of its inheritance. At the time of which we now proceed to speak, however, the Book of Judges represents the Israelites as delivered for their sins into the hands of Cushan Rishathaim, King of Aram-Naharaim, or Northern Mesopotamia. Is this credible? Is there not a mistake? A powerful prince, ruling some fourteen or fifteen hundred years B.C., side by side with Assyria! Bunsen declares it impossible. 'There can never have been an empire,' he says, 'in Eastern Syria co-existent with Assyria and Babylonia.' But let us wait a moment. The cuneiform records of a hundred years or two after Cushan Rishathaim distinctly show that even then the Assyrians were not masters of the whole of the country between the two rivers; and we have every reason to believe, that the monarchy of Assyria was scarcely out of its cradle, when Othniel 'judged Israel, and went out to war' against its oppressor. Which shall we receive then,—the witness of the Book of Judges and the Assyrians themselves on the one side, or the affirmation of this erudite, philosophical, brilliant, and, we are bound to add, most rash writer of *a priori* history on the other? In all probability, it was not till the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. that Assyria made any conquests west of the Euphrates; and, though Tiglath Pileser I., towards the middle of the same century, tells us he had 'subjugated all the earth,' his world ended by his own showing with the Kurdish Mountains, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Upper Syria about Carchemish.

During the hundred and fifty years that followed the reign of the Monarch last mentioned, Assyria seems to have extended her dominion further and further among her neighbours; and, from the time of the formation of the separate kingdoms of Judah and Israel down to the Babylonish captivity, the Assyrian inscriptions afford us numerous verifications of the truth of the sacred history. The first of these is found in connexion with the account which the First Book of Kings gives us of the war between the Syrians of Damascus and the Israelites in the latter part of the reign of Ahab. The celebrated black obelisk from Nimrūd is our authority; and though it makes no mention of the Israelitish King, or even of the struggle between him and Ben-hadad, 'it affords us,' to use the words of Mr. Rawlinson,—

'a very curious and valuable confirmation of the power of Damascus at this time—of its being under the rule of a Monarch named Ben-hadad, who was at the head of a great confederacy of princes, and who was able to bring into the field year after year vast armies, with which he repeatedly engaged the whole forces of Assyria. We have accounts of three campaigns between the Assyrians on the one side and the Syrians, Hittites, Hamathites, and Phœnicians on the other, in which the contest is maintained with spirit, the armies being of a large size, and their composition and character such as we find described in Scripture. The same record further verifies the historical accuracy of the Books of Kings by a mention of Hazael as King of Damascus immediately after Ben-hadad, and also by the synchronism which it establishes between this prince and Jehu, who is the first Israelite King mentioned by name on any inscription hitherto discovered.'

For a hundred years after Jehu, or Yahua, as the monuments call him, there is a great dearth of copious Assyrian inscriptions, and their silence as to all that took place beyond the Jordan is so much negative evidence in favour of Scripture; for 'the Hebrew annals touch no foreign country, of which we have any records at all, from the time of Jehu to that of Menahem.' With the reign of this latter prince, a little before Romulus laid his foundation-stone, we enter upon a period of frequent contact between Palestine and Assyria, and our cuneiform vouchers for the truth of holy writ begin to thicken. In the fifteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings we read that 'Pul' [the LXX. call him *Φαλώχ* or *Φαλώς*] 'the King of Assyria came up against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand.' On this let us hear Mr. Rawlinson again.

'The Assyrian records of the time present us with no name very close to this; but there is one which has been read variously as Phal-

lukha, Vullukha, and Iva-lush, wherein it is not improbable that we may have the actual appellation of the biblical Phul or Phaloch. The annals of this Monarch are scanty; but in the most important record which we possess of his reign there is a notice of his having taken tribute from *Beth-Khumri* or Samaria, as well as from Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Idumæa, and Philistia. Neither the name of the Israelitish King, nor the amount of his tribute, is mentioned in the Assyrian record; but the amount of the latter, which may to many appear excessive, receives illustration, and a certain degree of confirmation, from a fact which happens to be recorded on the monument,—namely, that the Assyrian Monarch took at this time from the King of Damascus a tribute considerably greater than that which, according to the author of Kings, he now exacted from Menahem. From Menahem he received a thousand talents of silver; but from the Damascene King the tribute taken was 2300 of such talents, together with 3000 talents of copper, 40 of gold, and 5000 of some other metal.

Menahem was followed on the throne by his son Pekahiah, and he, after a short reign of two years, by his murderer Pekah, son of Remaliah. Pekah is a well-known Scripture name. It was he who, in concert with Rezin of Syria, 'came up to Jerusalem to war, and besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him.' Ahaz, however, was sore pressed, and in his trouble sought for the aid of Tiglath Pileser II., King of Assyria, the probable successor of Pul, who 'went up against Damascus, and took it,' and, fulfilling the words of the prophet Isaiah, 'carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.' In accordance with these statements, a cuneiform record of the reign of Tiglath Pileser refers to the confederacy between him and Pekah, and states that the Assyrian Monarch defeated Rezin, razed his capital, and received tribute from the King of Samaria. Shalmaneser seems to have followed Tiglath Pileser II. on the throne of Assyria. His annals have been so diligently mutilated by his successor Sargina, or Sargon, as to be almost illegible; yet the name of Hoshea, against whom he is said, in the Book of Kings, to have warred in two campaigns, 'is found in an inscription which has been with reason assigned to Shalmaneser; and though the capture of Samaria is claimed by Sargon as an exploit of his own in his first year, yet this very claim confirms the scriptural account of Shalmaneser's commencing the siege, which began three years before the capture;' and it is worthy of notice, that Scripture nowhere expressly attributes the taking of the city to Shalmaneser. 'The King of Assyria,' in 2 Kings xvii. 6, is not necessarily the same as the one of the verse preceding; and the 'they took it' of chap. xviii. 10, establishes nothing one way or the other. Either Sargon, who by this time had usurped the royal authority

at Nineveh, claimed a success which did not belong to him, or, as Sir H. Rawlinson puts it, 'it would appear that Shalmaneser died, or was deposed, while Hoshea held out, and that the final captivity of Israel'—a captivity, according to Sargon's account, of 27,280 families—'fell into the reign of his successor.'

Sargon appears to have been a usurper. In his inscriptions, indeed, he calls the Kings of Assyria his ancestors; but he is particularly careful not to have a father; and it is certain he founded a new dynasty. The Louvre has reason to rejoice in him; for, it can hardly be doubted, he was the builder of the great palace at Khorsábád, from which France has obtained so precious a store of Assyrian marbles. The Arabian geographer Yacút, quoting from some unknown ancient authority, speaks of a village called Khurstábád, opposite Mosul, adjoining the old ruined city of Sarghún; and though Sir H. Rawlinson 'cannot determinately read' the name of the founder of the city, it is Sargon in one of its forms; and he inclines to the belief that this is the true value of the characters which represent it. Supposing this identification to be correct, it is not a little surprising that the inscriptions should preserve a record of the only fact which Scripture explicitly connects with his name. 'Tartan came unto Ashdod, (when Sargon, the King of Assyria, sent him,) and fought against Ashdod, and took it.' In agreement with this, the monuments represent Sargina as capturing Ashdod and other cities of southern Syria. At the same time, they confirm the scriptural account of the relations in which Egypt stood at this period to Ethiopia on the one hand, and Philistia on the other, by distinctly stating that the King of Ashdod fled for refuge to Muzr, or Mizraim, and that Muzr was subject to Mirukha, or Meroë. If we may further assume that Sargon is the Assyrian Monarch referred to in the fourth verse of the twentieth chapter of Isaiah—and we can scarcely doubt this—we obtain a second illustration of Sargon's reign from the monuments, which represent him as warring with Egypt, and forcing the Pharaoh of the time to become his tributary. Once more, the King of Assyria, who carried Israel away captive, 'put them in Halah and Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.' Side by side with this record, it is at any rate a fact to be noted, that Sargon seems to have been the first King of Assyria who conquered Media. The inscriptions distinctly relate that he reduced the Medes, and that, in order to assure himself of his new acquisition, he founded several cities in their country, 'which he planted with colonists from the other portions of his dominions.'

Sennacherib, 'the subduer of Kings,' as he styles himself in his

inscriptions, and he who made Nineveh 'as splendid as the sun,' would appear from Scripture to have been the successor of Sargon. The monuments say he was his son. Of the second of his two expeditions against Hezekiah, King of Judah—for we think Sir H. Rawlinson has shown very satisfactorily that there were two expeditions—the inscriptions, for a sufficiently obvious reason, have nothing to report. The story of the former of them is given at length, and agrees most strikingly with the narratives of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Here is part of Sennacherib's own account of the campaign:—'And because Hezekiah, King of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms, and by the might of my power, I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns, which were scattered about, I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates so as to prevent escape.... Then upon Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold'—precisely the sum mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. 14—'and eight hundred talents of silver'—the sacred text says, 'three hundred;' but we need not stumble at a difference which admits of being explained so many ways;—'and divers treasures,' he goes on to say, 'and immense booty.... All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power.' In connexion with this same part of the Old Testament history it is not without its significance, for the purposes of Mr. Rawlinson's argument, that the country in which the murderers of Sennacherib are stated in Scripture to have found an asylum, is represented in the contemporary cuneiform inscriptions as hostile to Assyria. Both Sennacherib and his son and successor are spoken of as carrying on war against Armenia. As to the death of Sennacherib, Mr. Rawlinson makes no mention of a circumstance which is yet worth a passing notice, and has been referred to by Sir H. Rawlinson, in his *Outlines of Assyrian History*. The Book of Tobit affirms that the Monarch was assassinated within five-and-fifty days after his return from Judæa. The canonical Scriptures say he went back to Nineveh, 'and dwelt there,'—language

which seems to imply, that he lived some considerable time after reaching his capital. In accordance with this latter account, the inscriptions relate the exploits of Sennacherib for several years after his Syrian campaign. Once more, the Scripture history of Hezekiah receives yet further confirmation from the monuments, by the testimony they furnish to the truth of the account of his communications with Merodach Baladan, King of Babylon. At this very period they give us the name of a Babylonian prince, Murduk-bal-iddan, who is, doubtless, the Mardoc-empad or Mardoc-empal of Ptolemy, and the Merodach Baladan of the Bible; and, what is much more important, considering that at this time Babylon was, for the most part, subject to Assyria, they describe Murduk-bal-iddan as having thrown off the yoke of Assyria, as having reigned for several years together at Babylon, and as having caused much trouble both to Sargon and to Sennacherib. We might add, too, that the Gozan and Haran, and other geographical names which occur in Isaiah, in connexion with Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa, have almost all been found in the arrow-headed writings.

The few inscriptions which we have of the reign of Esarhaddon are in singular harmony with the statements of Scripture concerning him. They evidently regard him as Sennacherib's successor, and he always speaks of himself as his son. The name of 'Manasseh, King of Judah,' of whom the Second of Chronicles states that he was carried away captive by the King of Assyria, is mentioned by Esarhaddon in a list of the princes who sent him workmen to assist in the construction and decoration of his palaces. What is still more interesting, they substantiate the Scripture statement, that Manasseh was taken by his conqueror not to Nineveh, but to Babylon. Here is one of those subtle coincidences which is worth a thousand broad agreements for the verification of history! Had this been said of any other Assyrian Monarch but Esarhaddon, we should have found ourselves in difficulty. 'The Assyrians ordinarily governed Babylon through native viceroys. But Esarhaddon appears to have reigned there in his own person. Bricks found on the site of Babylon show that he repaired temples, and built himself a palace there.' Ptolemy gives his name among the Babylonian Kings. 'A Babylonian tablet has been found, dated by the year of his reign—a sure indication that he was the actual ruler of the country.' The like cannot be said of any other King of Assyria. 'Esarhaddon, and he alone of all the Assyrian Kings, was King of Babylon.'

After Esarhaddon Assyria Proper disappears from the pages of Scripture, and Babylon takes its place as lord of the land of

the two rivers. We need not pause to show that this is in exact keeping with the records of profane history. How the great Scythian invasion swept down the power of Assyria in the reign of Esarhaddon's son and successor, and how the Medes and Babylonians, some thirty years later, dispersed the shadow of royalty that still lingered at Nineveh, in the person of Esarhaddon's grandson, are facts in which the cuneiform inscriptions, in common with other ancient witnesses, set to their seal that the word of God is true.

They perform the same providential service for the Bible history of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors on the throne of Babylon. From the Books of Kings and Jeremiah we learn, that Nebuchadnezzar—his native name was Nabu-kudur-uzur, which is nearly the Nebuchadrezzar of Jeremiah and Ezekiel—reigned forty-three years; and such is the number of years assigned to his reign by the best profane authorities. 'The Babylonian monuments go near to prove the same; for the forty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar has been found on a clay-tablet;' and, though the inscriptions of this Monarch are prodigiously numerous, no evidence has yet been found among them of his having reigned longer. Again, the Book of Daniel speaks of Nebuchadnezzar, as though there was a particular divinity to whose worship he was specially given up. Just as Nisroch is Sennacherib's god, so Nebuchadnezzar is said to have carried the sacred vessels of the temple at Jerusalem 'into the land of Shinar, into the house of his god.' Without laying undue stress on this expression, it is, at any rate, curious, in such a connexion, to find the Babylonian King perpetually speaking, in his inscriptions, of Merodach, as nearly the sole object of his religious reverence. He does not ring the changes upon half-a-dozen gods, like his predecessors. He is almost as staunch a devotee of Merodach as any Hindu Yogi can be of Shiva. 'Merodach, the great lord, has appointed me to the empire of the world.' 'The Yapur-Shapu,'—the reservoir of Babylon,—'by the grace of Merodach, I filled completely full of water.' All he does,—his building, fighting, praying,—have reference to 'Merodach, my lord.' What is of far more interest, however, for its bearing on the Scripture accounts of Nebuchadnezzar, is a remarkable passage which occurs in the celebrated 'Standard Inscription' of the Monarch. There is no passage like it in the whole range of the cuneiform monuments. It stands by itself as an original record of inaction on the part of a Mesopotamian Monarch. Some parts of it are very obscure. But let us hear it, in Sir H. Rawlinson's translation, so far as he ventures to give one. Nebuchadnezzar has been saying, 'In Babylon,—the city which

is the delight of my eyes, and which I have glorified,'—[recall here his words, in Daniel iv. 30: 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built?' &c.,]—'I raised the mound of brick' [for the palace].....'I cut off the floods.....I stored up inside, and placed there the treasure-house of my kingdom.' Then it follows:—

'Four years [?] the seat of my kingdom in the city.....which.....did not rejoice [my] heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power: the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself, and the honour of my kingdom, I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach,—my lord, the joy of my heart [?] in Babylon, the city of his sovereignty, and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises [?], and I did not furnish his altars [*i. e.*, with victims], nor did I clear out the canals.'

This is not the whole of the passage. Other negative clauses, which have not been explained, come after the foregoing extract. What is the reference in it all? For the present, at least, we cannot but regard it as Nebuchadnezzar's own recital of the consequences of that terrible stroke, with which the Prophet represents him to have been visited by God,—when 'he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the Most High God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that He appointeth over it whomsoever He will.'

Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach, who showed kindness to Jehoiskim, King of Judah, was followed on the throne by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar, who, as Mr. Rawlinson writes,—

'although not mentioned in Scripture as a Monarch, has been recognised among the "princes of the King of Babylon," by whom Nebuchadnezzar was accompanied in his last siege of Jerusalem. A name there given,—Nergal-shar-azar,—corresponds, letter by letter, with that of a King whose remains are found on the site of Babylon, and who is reasonably identified with the Neriglissar of Berosus, and the Nergassolassar of Ptolemy's canon. Moreover, the title of Rab-Mag, which this personage bears in Jeremiah, is found attached to the name of the Babylonian Monarch in his brick legends,—a coincidence of that minute and exact kind, which is one of the surest indications of authentic history.'

Finally, the inscriptions enable us to dispose of a difficulty which has long beset the Scripture account of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. The Book of Daniel makes the name of the Monarch then reigning in Babylon to be Belshazzar. Profane historians call him Nabonnedus, Nabonnidochus, Labynetus, or the like. According to Berosus, the King was at Borsippa during the siege; and, though he afterwards fell into the enemy's power,

was treated kindly by Cyrus. On the other hand, Daniel represents him as occupying the palace in Babylon, while the siege was going on, and as being slain on the night in which the city was captured. What is the clue to this labyrinth? The cylinders of Mûgeyer furnish it by informing us, that Nabu-nahit or Nabu-induk, (the latter is the Hamite, the former the Semitic, form of his name,) the last King of Babylon, who was probably Nebuchadnezzar's son-in-law, towards the close of his reign, gave his son, Bil-shar-uzur, a share in the government, and allowed him the royal title. And, with this fact before us, we not only harmonize what appears to be a direct contradiction between sacred and profane history, but find a sudden and most unexpected light falling upon that before inexplicable part of the promise which Belshazzar made to Daniel, that, in case he interpreted the writing, he should be 'the *third* ruler in the kingdom.'

We might easily add to the weight of what has now been advanced, by exhibiting the important verifications of the later Old Testament history, with which we are supplied from the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian Achæmenian Kings. The correspondence between the contents of these inscriptions and the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the contemporary Prophets, is truly wonderful. The titles and styles of the kings are the same; there is the same recognition of one God, the Ruler of all things; the state-constitution, the life at court, the condition of the people, the political history, the names of persons and places, are all the same. On this part of the subject, however, we cannot now dwell. Suffice it to say, that if the history of the Books in question, viewed in the light of the inscriptions, be not authentic, and the Books themselves not genuine, they are the most marvellous literary forgeries which human learning and ingenuity ever succeeded in palming upon a credulous world. Nor would it be going too far, were we to extend this affirmation, and, in view of the whole series of ancient monuments, of whose contents we have here given some specimens, were to say that they corroborate, in the most striking and satisfactory manner possible, the historical truth of the great body of the Old Testament Scriptures.

It may be fairly asked, indeed, Is there no other side to the testimony of the cuneiform inscriptions? It is clear they confirm the Bible history in a multitude of cases. Are there no exceptions to this general fact,—no instances of contradiction, or, at least, of discrepancy? There are such instances; and Mr. Rawlinson does not attempt to glose them over. He acknowledges and deals with them. The name of Pekah, for

example, occurs in an inscription,—probably, through an error of the workman who engraved it,—where Scripture requires us to read Menahem; and we are not in a position at present to adjust certain difficulties of chronology, created by the monuments, in reference to the reign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria. But these are exceptional cases; and Mr. Rawlinson is right in not allowing them to reduce, by more than a very small fraction, the value of that vast mass of evidence with which they are in conflict. Most of the few differences that do occur are simply chronological, and admit of being explained, without prejudice either to the Bible or the inscriptions. And for the rest, they are such as will be allowed, by every candid person, to be due, in all likelihood, to mistakes of scribes, to blunders in interpretation, or to the want of the necessary side-lights, to enable us to bring them into harmony. On the whole, we think Mr. Rawlinson does not make a whit too much of this branch of his argument.

Agreeably to the design of this paper, our attention has hitherto been directed almost exclusively to the confirmations of holy writ which Mr. Rawlinson has drawn from the cuneiform inscriptions. It would be unjust, however, alike to the author and his great subject, were we to dismiss these important ‘Lectures,’ without dwelling awhile on their more extensive scope and plan, and on the manner in which Mr. Rawlinson has performed the task to which he addresses himself. As the title of his work expresses it, his object is to state anew the historical evidences of Scripture, with special reference to the doubts and discoveries of modern times; and this he does, according to his own meaning of his words, as broadly and fully as he well could within the limits to which he was restricted. We are not sure, however, that when he speaks of ‘the doubts of modern times,’ he may not encourage expectations which his book will hardly justify. His readers must not hope to find in the Lectures a panoply of offence and defence against all and every sort and size of the scepticism, with which his argument so ably wrestles. Mr. Rawlinson expressly, and, as we think, very wisely, declines for his own part to enter upon any such polemic, and he does not profess to qualify others to engage in it. Strictly speaking, he breaks no new ground. He deals with new enemies, and successfully, too; but he does not abandon the old positions of Christian orthodoxy. Why should he do so? Why take to bush-fighting, with a castle behind you, whose top reaches to heaven? It is sometimes as great a merit to re-establish an old truth, as to exhibit a new one. And with respect to the so-called external evidences of Divine revelation, and the treatment they

are at present receiving at the hands of their opponents, it is to be hoped the friends of the Bible will keep this principle well in remembrance. We confess to a genuine satisfaction in seeing a scholar, like our latest commentator on Herodotus, come forward and re-assert—not dogmatically and unintelligently, but with fresh reasons and illustrations—the ancient, well-considered, and thoroughly-tried doctrine of the proper historical truth of the Scriptures.

In his opening Lecture, the most elaborate and valuable of the series, Mr. Rawlinson lays down and expounds the principles of a sound historical criticism, and shows how they apply to the writings of the Old and New Testament. He first marks the contrast which Christianity forms to other faiths, as resting, not on imagination or legend, but on a broad and definable basis of facts; and points out the peculiar relations in which, in virtue of this character, it comes to stand to historical studies and investigations in general. It cannot escape the scrutiny of science. It challenges honest inquiry. It will never complain of unfair dealing at the hands of the historian, unless 'when either principles unsound and wrong in themselves, having been assumed as proper *criteria* of historic truth, are applied to it for the purpose of disparagement; or when, right principles being assumed, the application of them, of which it is the object, is unfair and illegitimate.' From this, the lecturer goes on to treat, at some length, of the birth, the early life, and the rapid and prodigious development of the modern science of historical criticism; and presents us with a general view of the results of its activity,—sometimes most happy, sometimes most melancholy,—within the fields both of profane and sacred history. We would call the attention of all students of the Bible to this part of Mr. Rawlinson's work. It is a passage of great research, and of real moral eloquence; and it is densely charged throughout with facts and principles of the highest religious moment. The terms in which he condemns the moderate rationalism of Niebuhr, Bunsen, and, he might have added, Arnold,—men, whose genius, scholarship, and excellence, may easily blind us to their errors,—as distinguished from the outrageous and revolutionary scepticism of De Wette and Strauss, are as just and well-timed as they are emphatic and severe. Mr. Rawlinson, however, does not confound things that differ. He speaks wisely, when, referring to the theory of Strauss, he says, 'How such a philosophy differs from atheism, except in the use of a religious terminology, which it empties of all religious meaning, I confess myself unable to perceive.' And he is only faithful to the simplest dictates of Christian intelligence, when he animadverts on 'men

who are believers, but who admit the principles of unbelief,—who rationalize, but who think to say to the tide of Rationalism, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." But he accepts and rejoices in the legitimate conclusions of the new science. He goes further still. He formalizes them into four great canons, which, with certain corollaries belonging to them, he propounds as generally-acknowledged and safe tests of historic truth. In the nature of things, it must be all but impossible to devise a system of laws which shall apply to phenomena so numerous, multiform, and complex as those with which the historian has to deal; and we need not pledge ourselves to the absolute completeness of Mr. Rawlinson's table. He regards himself as being the first who has attempted to exhibit such a table; and, so far as we know, he is right in his assumption. At any rate, he deserves our best thanks for having gathered and put into shape what before was, for the most part, too diffused and divided to be of much practical value; and for giving us, in a few chosen words, the most important principles by which we ought to judge of the credibility of historical narrations. As to the substantial soundness of the principles he lays down, there can be but one opinion. Paley and Strauss would both endorse them all. But here the Rationalists and Mr. Rawlinson part company. The rationalistic historical criticism maintains, as we have seen before, that miracles are an impossibility. And any professed history which recounts them, they reject as, *ipso facto*, self-condemned and spurious. Mr. Rawlinson grapples manfully, and most triumphantly, with this monstrous dogma, in a noble passage, which we would fain quote at length. Most justly does he say,—and here he smites the very heart of the evil,—

"The whole difficulty with regard to miracles has its roots in a materialistic atheism, which believes things to have a force in and of themselves; which regards them as self-sustaining, if not even as self-caused; which deems them to possess mysterious powers of their own, uncontrollable by the Divine will; which sees in the connexion of physical cause and effect, not a sequence, not a law, but a necessity; which either positing a Divine First Cause to bring things into existence, then (like Anaxagoras) makes no further use of Him; or does not care to posit any such First Cause at all, but is content to refer all things to a "course of nature," which it considers eternal and unalterable, and on which it lavishes all the epithets that believers regard as appropriate to God, and God only.

Thus our author clears the way for what he represents to be the general object of his Lectures,—the vindication of the

genuineness and authenticity of the sacred documents, and the exhibition of certain parts of the *external* evidence to the truth of the Bible records, whether contained in monuments, in the works of profane writers, in customs and observances now existing or known to have existed, or, finally, in the works of believers nearly contemporary with any of the events narrated.' Of the Lectures which follow, Nos. II. to V. inclusive are devoted to the Old Testament history, which Mr. Rawlinson distributes into four great periods: 1. From the creation to the death of Moses, or the period of the Pentateuch. 2. From the death of Moses to the accession of Rehoboam, or the space covered by the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and some portions of Kings and Chronicles. 3. From the accession of Rehoboam to the Jewish captivity, or the history contained in the remainder of Kings and Chronicles, with parts of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, and Zephaniah. 4. From the captivity to the reform of Nehemiah, or the events of which the Books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther treat, together with those of the contemporary Prophets. The last three Lectures are occupied with the history of the New Testament, regarded as forming a single period only. In both these sections of his work Mr. Rawlinson travels over a vast field of ancient and modern literature, and collects with admirable industry and judgment whatever can illustrate and add force to his argument. Not only the cuneiform inscriptions, but the monuments of Egypt, the native records of Phœnicia and Armenia, the annalists and historians of Greece and Rome, Josephus, the Church fathers, and a multitude of other witnesses, are made to contribute their quota to the cause he has in hand. The more than two hundred pages of notes, references, and quotations of authorities in full, which Mr. Rawlinson appends to his Lectures, are evidence at once of the writer's laboriousness, discrimination, and fidelity; and, if they offer no great attraction for the general reader, they will add much to the worth of the volume in the estimation of all Christian scholars. The cuneiform element of Mr. Rawlinson's book is that with which we have chiefly concerned ourselves; and we have already expressed our wish that this had been larger and more exclusive than it is. Let it not be supposed, however, that we undervalue those parts of his work to which our attention has been less explicitly directed. His discussions on the authorship and composition of the books of Scripture, and particularly of the anonymous books; his defence of the genuineness of the Pentateuch; the confirmation of the Bible chronology, and of the Mosaic account of the Flood, which he

draws from the writings of Manetho and Berosus, notwithstanding the absurdities and exaggerations with which they are disfigured; the light which he causes the researches of our Egyptologists to shed upon numerous points of Old Testament history; his vindication of the authority of the Books of Daniel and Esther; the manner in which he disposes of the *à silentio* argument, as used by Strauss and others, against the credibility of the contents of the four Gospels; the proof of the historical truth of the New Testament, which he gathers from what we know of the contemporary political condition of Palestine, and of the names, characters, and history of the civil rulers of the period; finally, the verification of the later Scriptures, which Mr. Rawlinson finds in the early Christian literature, and in those Roman catacombs, of which Dr. Wiseman fables so charmingly;—these and many other features of the Lectures exhibit to great advantage the learning, acuteness, and candour of the writer, and are worthy of the close and earnest consideration of all who would know the certainty of the things in which they have been instructed.

Speaking generally, Mr. Rawlinson, throughout his book, has applied, with much force and consistency, the principles laid down in his introductory Lecture, and has handled the several points he undertakes to argue or illustrate with discrimination, precision, and vigour. Occasionally we have had reason to doubt whether he does not put a little too much into the mouth of his witnesses, and unwittingly stumble on that stumbling-stone of rhetoric, where so many theologians and philosophers before him have weakened their strength. At any rate, we have here and there remarked that he is less reserved than his gifted brother, Sir H. Rawlinson, in the statement of facts belonging to the cuneiform monuments. Now and then, too, we have met with inaccuracies in the quotations, which Mr. Rawlinson gives from his authorities. On page 48, for example, he makes Berosus attribute an action to Belus, which the historian represents to have been done by one of the other Babylonian gods. So, on the two pages following, several statements are attributed to Berosus, which belong not to him but to Abydenus; in one case, indeed, Berosus is represented as saying the very opposite of what his words imply. It would be hypercritical to notice blemishes like these, were it not that a rigid exactness, even in minute details, is indispensable in a work of the class of Mr. Rawlinson's. We feel bound to add, that for a book, the tone of which is, for the most part, so high and healthy in reference to the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, the terms in which the sacred documents are spoken

of are sometimes, as we think, a little too human in their colouring. It is difficult to avoid this in dealing with questions like those which are discussed in these Lectures, and especially with the German atmosphere about one, which must, of necessity, be breathed, if 'the doubts of modern times' are to come within the range of our inquiries. But it was never more important than now, that Christian scholars, by their very diction, should pay homage to the majesty of the words of the Holy Ghost; and in this respect we cannot but deem Mr. Rawlinson to be now and then undesignedly wanting. What we regret even more, is the sanction which is given, in a note on the third Lecture, to the doctrine of Michaelis and others, who reduce the miracle of Joshua to a poetical painting of an every-day fact. What sense there can be in the declaration, that 'there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man,' if there was nothing extraordinary in the appearances of the heavenly bodies, we are quite unable to divine; and we must say we have no desire to be commended to any one, be he 'learned Hebraist' or other, who would argue in favour of such an hypothesis. One word more, and we have done. We could wish, for the sake of the cause Mr. Rawlinson represents, that the style of his book had been somewhat more attractive. We should be sorry to see a Bampton Lecturer surrounding himself with sparkles. But there is another extreme; and we fear even scholars will be ready to complain of want of animation in certain parts of the work before us. Let no slight drawbacks, however, take more than a very little from the high estimation in which Mr. Rawlinson's performance ought to be held. We heartily thank him for the good service he has been able to render to the cause of biblical learning and of catholic Christian truth. He has given us a sober, solid, earnest, and trustworthy book, which wise men will value the more they study it, which scepticism will find it more convenient to ignore or smile at than to answer, and which, we venture to predict, will continue to live in honour, when many of its more dazzling contemporaries have been long dead and forgotten.

ART. II.—1. *Reflections on Church Music; for the Consideration of Church-goers in general.* By CARL ENGEL. London. 1856.

2. *History of Music.* Four Vols. 4to. By CHARLES BURNLEY, Mus. Doc., F.R.S. London. 1776.

3. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music.* VOL. XVI. NO. XXXI. D

- Five Vols. 4to. By SIR JOHN HAWKINS. London. 1776.
4. *The Music of the Church, Choral and Congregational.* By REV. P. LATROBE, M.A., &c. 8vo. London. 1831.
 5. *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland.* By REV. JOHN JEBB, M.A., &c. 8vo. London. 1843.
 6. *Music in its Relation to Religion. A Lecture.* By REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D.
 7. *Quelques Observations sur le Chant Grégorien. Mémoire présenté à l'Institut, en Mars, 1855.* Par C. J. PATU DE SAINT VINCENT, Membre de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie et Couronné dans le Séance du 10 Août. Paris. 1856.
 8. *The Order of the Daily Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, as Arranged for Use in Quires, and Places where they Sing.* By THOMAS TALLIS. Bishop's Edition. London. 1854.
 9. *A Collection of Anthems, as Sung in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ's Church, (Her Majesty's Chapel Royal,) in the Cathedral and Collegiate Church of St. Patrick, in the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, and in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin.* By REV. JOHN FINLAYSON, M.A., Vicar Choral, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Dublin. 1852.
 10. *Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical; selected and arranged for Use; with Notes and Introduction.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A., &c. (now D.D. and Dean of Westminster). London. 1849.
 11. *What to Do; and How to Do it. A Lecture on Congregational Psalmody.* By REV. JOHN CURWEN. London.
 12. *Sacred Music. A Lecture.* By REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. London. 1859.*
 13. *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.* By CHARLES WHEATLEY, M.A., &c. London. 1857. (Bohn's Edition.)
 14. *Six Lectures on the Book of Common Prayer.* By CHARLES PARSONS REICHEL, B.D. (now D.D.), Professor of Latin, Queen's College, Belfast. Dublin. 1857.
 15. *Music. A Lecture Delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, in Trinity Term, 1852.* By JOHN SMITH, Mus. Doc., Professor of Music in the University, &c. (Newspaper Report.)

* Nos. 6 and 12 were Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, in Exeter Hall.

It is not necessary to offer any apology for bringing before the public a subject of such importance as Church Music. It is to be regretted that, notwithstanding the many improvements of the age in which we live, no science has been so little systematized as this; nor has the interest taken in its theory and practice at all kept pace with the advancement made in almost every other direction. When we remember that throughout the length and breadth of this great kingdom the public singing of the praises of God prevails almost universally, from the stately minster to the obscure country church,—from Mr. Spurgeon's 'meeting' at Exeter Hall, to the rudest and smallest country 'chapel,'—we must feel that its proper cultivation and performance is a theme which is or ought to be popular in the highest degree. For the most part, the writers on this subject have been those whose musical taste has so far mastered their better feeling as to lead them to treat all attempts to popularize Church Music with contempt; while the advocates for congregational singing have (it is to be regretted) often been narrowly and sometimes fanatically dogmatical about the whole matter. Such persons seem to have imagined that any sort of singing was good enough for God's house; and hence those very absurd and painfully ridiculous scenes in which parish clerks and choirs figure, whether in story or in fact.

But another day has dawned on the Church, and strenuous exertions are everywhere made to insure propriety in this department of public worship. Thousands of Englishmen yearly frequent every place of note in Germany; thence they bring with them a new taste in music, and some influence from the national knowledge of the art which the Germans possess. Again, masters for our public schools are now trained in corps, and music forms part of the training: by this means musical knowledge of a good class becomes widely extended throughout the country; and the rising generation possess advantages in the way of musical education which most adults now living never enjoyed.

In the present state of things, then, some few suggestions as to the better performance and cultivation of Church Music may not be out of place. To this end we shall first attempt a slight historical sketch of sacred music, from the earliest times to our own day; and then endeavour to deduce from the excellencies and errors of the Church Music of the past and present some practical suggestions.

It may be a matter of surprise to many in our day, to hear that at one period since the Reformation, the exercise of the

voice in praising God in the congregation was deemed an unlawful practice; and this by Protestant Dissenters, (not Quakers,) among whom a curious controversy on the subject arose in the end of the seventeenth century. 'Whether singing in public worship had been practically discontinued during the times of persecution to avoid informers, or whether the miserable manner in which it was performed gave persons a distaste to it, so it appears, that in 1691 Mr. Benjamin Keach published a tract entitled, *The Breach Repaired in God's Worship; or, Psalms, Hymns, &c., proved to be a Holy Ordinance of Jesus Christ.*'* The fact of such a controversy, doubtless, seems most absurd to us, especially when we learn that 'Mr. Keach was obliged to labour earnestly, and with a good deal of prudence and caution, to obtain the consent of his people to sing a hymn at the conclusion of the Lord's Supper. After six years more they agreed to sing on the thanksgiving days; but it required still fourteen years more before he could persuade them to sing every Lord's day; and then it was only after the last prayer, that those who chose might withdraw without joining in it! Nor did even this satisfy these scrupulous consciences; for after all a separation took place, and the inharmonious seceders formed a new Church in May's Pond, where it was above twenty years longer before singing the praises of God could be endured.'† Now, however, with the exception of the Quakers, all Christian communities are agreed as to the Christian duty and privilege of singing in the church, congregation, or Christian assembly.

That the practice of sacred music is of very remote antiquity, no one can doubt. Bishop Ken thinks it was coeval with the creation of man; and this is also the idea conveyed by Milton, who makes Adam and Eve give utterance, in their 'morning hymn,' to the sentiments of the '*Benedicite, omnia opera,*' specially recognising the angelic songs of laud as the first and

* See article *Psalmody*, in Watson's Theological Dictionary.

† 'Louis XIV. prohibited singing among the French Protestants,' says Gaultier, in his *Histoire Apologétique*. 'Devotional singing was prohibited, whether in public worship, in the streets, or the fields, or in private houses. The order to this effect was not only published in the usual manner, but a printed notice was served upon each Protestant housekeeper. A mechanic at Castres somewhat confused the Roman Catholic functionaries, by returning his copy of the said notice with the following verse written on it:—

"Jamais ne cesseraï
De magnifier le Seigneur:
En ma bouche aura son honneur
Tant que vivant serai.—Ps. xxxiv. 1."

Life of Claude Brousson, p. 14, note. London, 1853.

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noblest employment of those cherubim and seraphim who 'continually do cry:—

'Speak, ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
Angels, for ye behold Him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle His throne rejoicing.'

The first musical attempts of the earliest races and nations appear to have been devoted to religious purposes. This was especially the case with the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Independently, also, of devotional considerations, the study of this science was regarded as an excellent system of mental culture, and as such was at a remote period inculcated among the most celebrated nations of antiquity.

The song of Miriam is not only remarkable because of its antiphonal character, (of which we shall say more hereafter,) but also as showing the general prevalence of singing among the Israelites of her day. Mr. Latrobe says it is impossible to determine the nature of the instruments mentioned in Psalm cl., as six versions—the Latin from the Hebrew, the Chaldee paraphrases, the Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic—all differ in their interpretations. The same uncertainty prevails as to the headings of the Psalms. Tindal supposes they were designed to enable the choir to give out the tune, as they generally refer to melodies or instruments. But, in fact, as regards the nature of the Jewish music in the palmy days of the temple worship, we can but form vague speculations, as it is mere matter of doubtful tradition. Professor Smith, of Dublin, speaking of the Jewish plain song or recitative method of reading the Scriptures, says:—
'The Hebrews to this day chant in a style of recitative the whole Bible, after the manner it was supposed to have been delivered to them from the mouth of Moses, in the same way that he received it from Mount Sinai.'* An eminent and learned Jewish writer on the Bible says in explanation, that when Moses received the law, it was given to him not only with the sound of trumpets but with song. The Jews have been in consequence prohibited from repeating the Bible in any other manner than as it was recited by Moses; and the air of the recitative is supposed to have been handed down faithfully from father to son until about the fifth century, A.D., when Rabbi Aaron Ben Asser invented certain characters to represent the accent and true tone that were given to each word, by which

* From a newspaper report of a Lecture, delivered in Trinity College, in Trinity term, 1852.

means the original recitative or chant has been preserved to this day. These singular characters, about twenty-seven in number, are judiciously placed under each word in the Bible; and that the reader might not fail in the true expression, they are even placed with great caution under the very letter that must be accented in the word, so that every person must chant with the one expression.

Another authority (Burney, *History of Music*, vol. i., p. 251) quotes the opinion of a High Priest against the modern Jewish chanting; deeming it an innovation, as all music, vocal and instrumental, was banished from the synagogues after the destruction of Jerusalem. To reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the statements of Drs. Smith and Burney, it may be said that the former speaks of the public reading of the Bible in a recitative or plain song, such as was in fact used in reading the lessons in our cathedrals previous to the Restoration in 1660; * while the latter refers to the plain chant, used by the Jews in singing the Psalms of David, a species of music from which all the subsequent varieties of chant in the Christian Church are without doubt derived. Although the High Priest quoted by Burney deemed the modern Jewish chanting an innovation, yet Burney remarks, with reference to the same chant, that it is still cultivated by the Jews in Germany; and from its resemblance to Persian music, (traditionally believed to have been borrowed from the Jews,) he is of opinion that the modern Jewish chant preserves the ancient character.

It was our privilege on one occasion to hear the Psalms for the Sabbath day (xcii. and cxxv.) chanted in Hebrew in the synagogue in the Rue Notre Dame de Nazareth, at Paris. The music was simple and plaintive, but the expression was indescribable. Whether from the suitability of the Hebrew language for such a purpose, or the felicity of execution, or both, it is not easy to determine; but of one thing there could be no doubt—the superiority of the royal psalmist's own words, sung to the ancient chants, to any modern translation or music of the same class. It is a matter of surprise and regret, considering the importance attached in the Jewish economy to the musical part of the Temple service, and the minute details in the Old Testament regarding those whose office was 'to praise

* This was, and still is, the usage in Romish countries. 'Les leçons se chantent *recto tono*, ou presque *recto tono*. C'est donc une sorte de lecture à haute voix: de là l'usage de se servir également des verbes *lire* ou *chanter* une leçon.'—*Observations sur le Chant Grégorien*, C. J. Patu. The intonation of the Lessons, Gospel and Epistle, was put an end to by the Convocation which in 1661 revised the Common Prayer Book. See *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, p. 141.

the Lord,' and in the case of a people so separate and peculiar as the Hebrews undoubtedly are, that the music which they used should have come to be only matter of tradition and conjecture. A few sacred airs of incontestable antiquity were said to have been derived by the early Christian Church from the Jews; they are of the class denominated 'chorale,' being fixed metrical compositions, analogous to those sung to our hymns, and are so distinguished from the chant, the length of which is variable. One instance may be adduced of a well-known Jewish tune, called 'Leoni,' the date of which is referred to the Babylonish captivity: it is very generally used by the modern Jews, and in the Christian Church is arranged to the hymn commencing, 'The God of Abram praise.'

As the proclamation of the Gospel began at Jerusalem, as the first Church was formed there, and as the Apostles and Evangelists issued thence, it is natural to suppose that the Jewish element would be very prominent in the primitive ecclesiastical arrangements of the Christian congregations. The most ancient Church music appears to have been a recitative chant of the simplest kind; and from the fact, that among the early converts 'not many mighty, not many noble, were called,' and that the sacred assemblies were commonly held in secret, for fear of persecution, we may perhaps infer the absence in general of written compositions, leaving the performance of this part of worship dependent on rude and unlearned tradition. The style and method of singing were, doubtless, derived from the Jews; and the performance, we may safely conclude, was antiphonal. In the well-known passage from Pliny's letter to Trajan, the learned Roman not only testifies to their custom of meeting together on a stated day, before it was light, but adds, 'They were accustomed to sing among themselves, *alternately*, a hymn to Christ, as God.*' Andrew Fuller says, 'It is manifest the original singing was much of it *responsive*; and that justice cannot be otherwise done to it.' The judicious Hooker argues for its antiquity, speaking of it as 'a thing which all Christian Churches in the world have received, and a thing which so many ages have held.' And Mr. Binney says, 'The singing was *alternate* and *responsive*. I wish the practice had not been discontinued.'† As the early Church music was not regulated by any given system, it came naturally to be influenced, to a certain extent, by the Pagan predilections of the converts; from which cause resulted an endless variety of style.

* 'Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.'—*Epist.*, lib. i., ep. 97. (A.D. 107.)

† For further information as to the antiquity of antiphonal singing, see *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, p. 130.

In the time of Constantine, special attention was directed to it: 'when,' says Eusebius, 'music, choirs, services, and hymns, were established at Antioch;' from whence St. Ambrose, the reputed author of that universal hymn, *Te Deum Laudamus*, is said to have brought to Milan the chants known by his name; and, during the Trinitarian controversy, processional singing was introduced by the Arians. Gregory I., who became Pope in 590, produced a revolution in Church music, by arranging the 'tones' or 'modes' since named after him, and which, according to some, were his own invention. This species of music was called *cantus planus*, *canto fermo*, or 'plain song,' from its gravity. He increased the previously existing modes from four to eight, adopted Roman instead of Greek characters, and, with a view to conciliate prejudice, introduced Greek and Hebrew terms, *e.g.*, 'Kyrie eleison,' 'Hallelujah,' &c. He established a famous singing school, which lasted for three hundred years after his death, and in which were to be seen the couch whereon he reclined while giving musical instruction, and the whip used by him, not only as an emblem of authority, but, alas for our degenerate days! as a serviceable instrument of communicating knowledge. To him is also ascribed the invention of the Gregorian notes, which, with certain modifications, subsequently introduced, are now used only in the Romish and Greek Churches,* but are otherwise valueless, except as subjects of interest to musical antiquaries. In the Greek Church, the plain chant is still sung, to the exclusion of all other music, and in no case is an instrumental accompaniment allowed. The great and peculiar charm of the original Gregorian music was its simplicity; but this was not suffered to remain; for, in a short time, it received many additions, and underwent many modifications. M. Patu, in his work, *Quelques Observations sur le Chant Grégorien*, says, 'Ce qui nous paraît certain, ou du moins probable, c'est que, moins de deux siècles après Saint Grégoire, le Chant Grégorien n'existait plus que dans un petit nombre de passages perdus dans la masse des additions.' About the year 1022, Guido, a monk of Aretium, endeavoured to re-establish the principles of the primitive song.† Acting under the authority of Charlemagne, he reduced the tones from fifteen to eight; ‡ and his further improvements may be stated

* Partial exceptions to this statement exist at All Saints, Margaret Street, St. Barnabas, et hoc genus omne. For a modern English work, see *Helmors's Directory of Plain Song*.

† 'Tonus est acuta enuntiatio vocis, harmoniæ differentia, et quantitas quem vocis accentu vel tenore consistit, cujus genera in quindecim partes musici diviserunt.'—*St. Isidore*, lib. iii.

‡ 'Dans le chant Ambrosien on reconnaît encore quatorze tons distincts. Ce fut Charlemagne qui décida dans la sagesse, que huit tons étaient suffisants, et ordonna la suppression des autres comme inutiles.'—*Patu*, *sup. cit.*, p. 10.

in the words of M. Pâtu : * ' Gui d'Arezzo eut l'idée de placer les signes des notations sur une échelle régulière ; il inventa les lignes qui furent depuis appelées *la portée musicale* ; il donna des noms aux notes de la gamme, et par ces moyens rendit l'étude du chant infiniment plus facile.' The Psalms, as we have before observed, were anciently sung antiphonally, and by the whole congregation ; but, as Latin gradually ceased to be the language of Western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, and still continued to be the liturgical tongue, the people felt a diminishing interest, and took less and less part, in the chanting and the singing of the psalmody ; until, finally, the musical service came to be exclusively the function of the priests, who favoured this result as one mode of accomplishing the total separation between the clergy and laity. Besides the Psalter, however, hymns were of great antiquity, and their performance differed somewhat from that of the Psalms, which were sung by all the people together, while the principal part of a hymn was given by one voice, the congregation joining in at the 'refrain' of each verse. The hymn-loving public are under deep obligations to Dean Trench for his *Sacred Latin Poetry*, in which he reproduces many hymns of the ancient Church. Some are familiar to most readers ; such as that beginning, '*Dies iræ, dies illa*,' and the well known '*Adeste fideles*.' The sentiments contained in many of them are excellent ; as, for instance, in the following lines, contained in a hymn on dependence upon Christ :—

' Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Salva me, fons pietatis ;
Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuæ viæ,
Nec me perdas illâ die.'

John Maubum, a Capuchin of the sixteenth century, wrote this hymn on the Nativity :—

' O te laudum millibus
Laudo, laudo, laudo,
Tantis mirabilibus
Plaudo, plaudo, plaudo.
Gloria, sit gloria
Amanti memoria,
Domino in altis
Civi testimonia
Dantur et præconia
Calicis a psaltis.'

* *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

Ancient royalty sometimes engaged in the work of hymn-making; thus Robert II., of France, in the eleventh century, wrote this hymn on the Holy Spirit:—

'Sine tuo nomine
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium.
Lava quod est sordidum,
Riga quod est aridum,
Sana quod est saucium.'

Up to the eleventh century, all singing was unisonal; for, among the many inventions of the ancients, harmony had no place, and the first step towards it appears to have originated in the practice of organizing or *descant*,* which was an accomplishment of great value, either in a singer or player; and, by reason of the attention bestowed on it, became, in fact, a science. This continued in England to a comparatively recent period: thus part of an epitaph in Norwich Cathedral, dated 1621, reads as follows:—

'Here *William Inglott* organist doth rest,
Whose Art in Musick this Cathedral blest:
For *Descant* most, for Voluntary all,
He past on Organ, Song, and Verginall.'

Descant may be defined as an accompaniment to the plain song, either on an instrument, or by another voice. This was at first an extemporaneous effort, and depended altogether on the taste and ability of the performer. In course of time experience devised certain rules which formed it into a fixed art; and at the present day, in the continental churches, both instrumental and vocal descant may be heard accompanying the plain song. Its improvement was greatly furthered in the eleventh century, by Franco de Cologne, (the inventor of the time table, and our musical characters,) and Walter Odington, a Monk of Evesham. The transition from this system to counterpoint or harmony was gradual, although Guido, of Aretium, has the credit of its invention. He was a musician of the mathematical school, the harmony of which, proceeding entirely on the reasoning of Euclid and Ptolemy, produced combinations of a heavy and unmusical class; in fact, as M. Patu expresses it, 'Opposant ainsi par des règles mathématiques une barrière infranchissable au génie musicale, qui ne peut prendre d'essor quand il est comprimé par de tels obstacles.' In the first specimens of har-

* Dr. Thomas Campion, a physician, who flourished about A.D. 1600, was the author of a book entitled, *The Art of Discant, or Composing Music in Parts*.

monized music, down to a considerable time after the Reformation, the chief melody or air was assigned to the tenor, so called from its holding (*teneo*) or sustaining the melody;* and Carl Engel,† writing of this arrangement, says, 'As great care was bestowed on the proper execution of the music, the effect must have been very impressive indeed.' The musical performance in the churches, being now the exclusive right of the clergy, took a scientific turn, and we find *figurate music* occupying much attention. This, as distinguished from plain song, meant compositions in which 'two or more notes are to be sung to a syllable, as we find it in fugues, &c.'‡ In it the sense of the words was altogether subservient to the music, and endless extravagances of expression, of the most nonsensical and ridiculous kind, were the consequence. Harmony was also pursued to such an extent, that Thomas Tallis, of famous memory, attained to the composition of his 'Song of *forty* parts,' still extant, in which there are 'eight trebles, eight mezzisoprani, or mean parts, eight counter-tenors, eight tenors, and eight basses.'§

'At the Council of Trent, in the year 1562,|| the then so apparent nuisance of figurate music in church was strongly denounced, and the banishment of all such music from the Roman Catholic service would probably have been determined on, had not Palestrina showed, by his sublime mass called the *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, that this kind of treatment of the voices is not necessarily incompatible with the simplicity and gravity of the music, and with the distinctness of the words. Also in the Church of England, there were raised, about the same time, many reasonable complaints against figurate music, called *curious singing* by those who objected to it.' Among the many changes produced by the Reformation, perhaps, the total revolution in Church music was one of the most prominent and remarkable. This was mainly due to the introduction of Psalmody, or the singing of the Psalms in metre by large numbers of people. Luther, so well known to have been an excellent musician, eagerly laid hold of music, pressing its congregational adoption into the service of the Reformation with such zeal and ability, as to leave his memory for ever associated with chorales of the truest ecclesiastical structure. He was the author of numerous hymns and chorales published at various

* See Finlayson's *Anthems, &c.*, p. 27.

† *Church Music*, p. 72.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

§ Biographical notice of Thomas Tallis, in his *Order of the Daily Service*, edited by J. Bishop.

|| Carl Engel, p. 75.

times during his life, besides adapting much of the Romish music to Protestant use; and throughout the Protestant churches of the Continent, his compositions, both in words and music, are not only generally used, but even to this day are regarded as orthodox standards of the true Church style. He made the best music popular, and good singing a general accomplishment, by taking care that systematic instruction in music should form a prominent part of the education of the young; 'and,' says Dr. Cumming,* 'in 1544, together with George Khan, he published a hymn-book, with music for schools.' But 'the highest evidence,' says the same writer, 'of the power and excellency of the hymns and music of Luther, is the fact, that the Roman Catholics adopted them. The people would sing them, and therefore the Priests introduced them into the Romish churches. A Carmelite Friar observed, "Luther's hymns helped his cause astonishingly; they spread among all classes of the people, and were sung not only in the churches and schools, but also in the houses and workshops, in the streets and market-places, in lanes, and in fields." And so, we may add, are they still to be heard in the German Roman Catholic churches.

Long before the death of Luther, psalmody was generally adopted in France. In 1545 Clement Marot and Theodore Beza published a French version of metrical Psalms, which was immediately used by Calvin, at Geneva, to melodies set by Guillaume Franc. Some of these were subsequently harmonized by several French musicians, among whom may be mentioned Claude Gondimel, who flourished in 1565, and who harmonized the Hundredth Psalm tune, presumed to have been composed by Guillaume Franc. Bishop Coverdale published a Psalter, with music, in 1539; that was soon followed by the translation of Sternhold and others, which, when completed in 1562, gave our psalmody the national character it has ever since retained. Of this work Sir John Hawkins says,† 'Thomas Sternhold was the first that attempted a version of the Psalms in English. He did to the number of about forty of them; the rest, in the printed collection used in churches, were afterwards translated by John Hopkins, William Whittingham,‡ Thomas Norton, and others. Sternhold's version was first published in the year 1549.' Dr. Rimbault, in the introduction to his reprint of *The whole Book of Psalms, published*

* *Music in its Relation to Religion.*

† *History of Music*, vol. iii., p. 254.

‡ Whittingham (or Whytyngham) afterwards became Dean of Durham.

by Thomas Este, A.D. 1592, thus criticizes Sir John Hawkins's statement:—'In 1549 Sternhold published a portion of the Psalms, *thirty-seven* in number, not *fifty-one*, as stated by Sir J. Hawkins and Warton. In 1551 Sternhold's Psalms were republished, with *seven* additional ones by John Hopkins. These were soon adopted by the English Calvinists at Geneva; and after undergoing such alterations as to them seemed meet, they were, with the addition of *seven* others by William Whytyngham, at that time residing at Geneva, printed there in 1556. The number *thus* became *fifty-one*, and perhaps it was a hasty sight of this edition which misled Hawkins and Warton.' Mr. Finlayson* says Rimbault is incorrect in assigning *thirty-seven* Psalms to Sternhold's first editions, and quotes a note from Archdeacon Cotton's 'List of Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English, from 1505 to 1820,' to show that the work in question appeared subsequently to another which contained only nineteen Psalms. Dr. Cotton gives the title of the Psalter of 1549 thus:—'All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sterneholde, late Grome of the Kynges Maiestyes Robes, did in his Lyfetyme drawe into Englyshe Metre.' The title of the full edition, *published with music* in 1563,† is very quaint, and strongly suggestive of the good old times when our forefathers listened to the sermons of the Reformers at St. Paul's Cross; it reads thus:—'The whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall. Set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches of all the People together, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons, and moreover in private Houses, for their godly Solace and Comfort, laying apart all ungodly Songs and Ballads, which tend onely to the Nourishment of Vice, and Corrupting of Youth.' The 'apt notes to sing them withall,' were tunes of French and German origin, in one part only, written in the tenor clef, and designed for unisonous singing. To these was prefixed a short explanation of the musical characters employed, and the proper method of using them. The notes were hollow, like the semibreves and minims ‡ in use at the present day, and diamond-shaped. This singing

* Notes to *Collection of Anthems*, p. 200.

† The first complete edition of the Psalter appeared in 1562; but the Psalter, 'with apt notes to sing withall,' was first published in the following year. See *Finlayson, ut supra*, p. 201.

‡ In these good old times there were neither crotchets, quavers, semi-quavers, demi-semi-quavers, nor any other of the many atomic musical divisions now so common. A minim, as its name derived from the Latin implies, was the *smallest* note, and it is still the smallest in proper cathedral music.

'of all the people together' spread with great rapidity amongst the Protestants at home and on the Continent; and several instances are recorded of the enthusiastic liking created for this species of music, by the grandeur always accompanying the singing of a large number of persons. Some conception of the size of congregations may be formed from a letter of Roger Ascham's, written from Augsburg, in which he says,—'Three or four thousand singing at a time in a church of this city is but a trifle.'

In 1563 John Daye,* of famous memory, sent from his printing press the first Psalter in *harmony*. This was soon followed by others in England; and in Scotland, where psalmody also prevailed in connexion with the Kirk version of the Psalms, an antiquated production, still adhered to most tenaciously by the stern disciples of John Knox. In the collections of Psalm tunes referred to was one of particular merit, published in 1621 by Thomas Ravenscroft; but in all these the cantus or melody was given to the tenor. A change to the present practice of assigning the air or melody to the highest voice took place in 1671, when John Playford produced a book for *three voices*, 'Cantus, Medius, and Bassus;' in this the medius, or tenor, was 'so composed as not to rise above the Church tune, to cloud or obscure the ayre thereof, except in such places as it could not be well avoided.' It must be borne in mind that music then formed a part of education, so that every person possessing such a book as Playford's, could easily make use of it. Thus, in a work published in 1597, by Thomas Morley, entitled, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, we read, 'But supper being ended, and music bookes (according to the custome) being brought to the table, the mistresse of the house presented me with a part, earnestly requesting me to sing; but when, after many excuses, I protested unfaindly that I could not, every one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up; so that upon shame of mine ignorance I goe now to seeke mine old friend Master Gnorimus, to make myself his scholler.' In Queen Elizabeth's time, a knowledge of music was indispensable to a gentleman: thus Peacham, in his *Compleat Gentleman*, says,—'I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall to play the same upon your violl, or the exercise of your lute, privately to yourself.'

At the time of the Reformation was also compiled the Choral or Cathedral Service, several works on which appeared during

* Daye died in 1584, and was buried at Bradley Parva. Pettigrew (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, p. 434) gives his epitaph, written in a quaint and curious style.

the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Its principal features are stated as follows by Mr. Jebb.* Premising that the *chant* is the basis of the entire system, he gives the essential parts thus:—1. The chanting, by the minister, of the sentences, exhortations, prayers, and collects, throughout the Liturgy, in a monotone, slightly varied by occasional modulations. 2. The alternate chant of the versicles and responses by the minister and the choir. 3. The alternate chant, by the two divisions of the choir, of the daily Psalms, and of such as occur in the various offices of the Church. 4. The singing of all the canticles and hymns in the Morning and Evening Service, either to an alternate chant, or to a more intricate style of song, resembling anthems in their construction, and which are technically styled “services.” 5. The singing of the anthem after the third Collect, both in Morning and Evening Prayer. 6. The alternate chanting of the Litany, by the minister and choir. 7. The singing of the responses after the Commandments in the Communion Office. 8. The singing of the Nicene Creed, the Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis in the Communion Service, anthemwise. 9. The chanting or singing of those parts in the occasional offices, which are rubrically permitted to be sung.’ In 1550, a work issued from the press of Grafton, entitled, *The Booke of Common Praier, noted*. This was a compilation from the Romish Services by John Merbecke, who was organist of St. George’s, at Windsor; and it contained most of the offices, except the Litany, which had previously appeared. In Mary’s reign the Mass was re-established; but, on the accession of Elizabeth, the Protestant Service was restored; and in 1560 was published a book entitled, ‘Certain Notes set forth in foure and three Parts, to be song at the Morning Communion, and Evening Praier, very necessary for the Church of Christ to be frequented and used; and unto them be added Godly Praiers and Psalmes in the like Form, to the Honour and Praise of God. Imprinted at London, over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martin’s, by John Daye.’ The authors of these compositions were Tallis, Causton, Johnson, Oakland, Shephard, and Taverner.† In 1565 another musical work was published, with the title, ‘Morning and Evening Prayer, and Communion, set forthe in foure Partes, to be song in Churches, both for Men and Children, with dyvers other Godly Prayers and Anthems, of sundry Men’s Doynages. Imprinted at London, by John Daye.’ The compositions in this book were mostly by the authors of that last quoted. Tallis’s own Service

* *Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*.

† See Tallis’s *Daily Service*, by Bishop, p. xiii.

was published probably about 1565, and this, with occasional variations, came into general use 'in quires and places where they sing;' nor has there been any material change in this respect, from that time to the present. It must be borne in mind that the choral service was never designed for parochial or general adoption, since this would manifestly exclude the people from joining in such services; but it was intended for collegiate and cathedral foundations, where all the members of the corporation were presumed to have so much musical knowledge as would enable them to devote to God's service the highest exercise of the musical art. Anciently, the clergy were supposed to be proficient in grammar, rhetoric, and *music*, particularly in Ireland, before the English invasion, when the supremacy of Rome was unknown, and its yoke unfelt by the inhabitants of the 'Island of Saints.' But in later years the practice of giving stalls in cathedrals to Rectors of parishes at a distance, has gradually destroyed the collegiate principle; so that instead of the chief church in a diocese being an ecclesiastical college, it is now specifically useful only as a means of pecuniary preferment for the least worked portion of the clergy, many of whom have not the slightest musical qualification for the offices they hold; their duties being, for the most part, performed by the Minor Canons, a class of ecclesiastics perhaps worse paid than parochial Curates.

Since Elizabeth's reign, various *Schools* of Cathedral Music have prevailed. King Charles I. was a great patron, he himself being a person of much taste and musical ability. During the Great Rebellion, the choral service was entirely suppressed, it being contrary to the mandates of the Commonwealth to use any part of the Common Prayer;* and this was rigidly enforced, even at the King's interment at Windsor, when Bishop Juxon stood with the Prayer Book open, prepared to read the service for the burial of the dead, but was not permitted to do so. After the Restoration, the most celebrated cathedral composers flourished; from which time to our own day, the works of Purcell, Blow, Boyce, Croft, Greene, Aldrich, Nares, Travers, and Stevenson, have been held in great repute. Handel's and Haydn's compositions have also been universally adopted in the cathedral churches in this kingdom. The principal feature in the cathedral music of our own day is the increasing taste for the solid and grand church compositions of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early part of the seventeenth centuries, in preference to the florid and unmeaning services which succeeded them.

* See Rev. Dr. Reichel's *Lectures on the Common Prayer*, p. xix. Dublin. 1857.

Perhaps nothing has so much contributed to this change of taste, as the introduction of the works of Mendelssohn to our cathedrals. Combining all the superior musical knowledge of modern times, with the solemn flow of the true Church style, they are peculiarly suitable for use in places where musical talent of the first order is dedicated to the service of the sanctuary. The *double* chant has also come into general use. Its construction being precisely, as its name denotes, a *double* of the single chant, its merits should not be placed in contrast to those of the latter. Its pleasing variety, however, entitles it to a high place in the sacred music of these kingdoms. Another feature in modern cathedral service may be noted, viz., the sparing use of the organ. Now-a-days, this instrument is used as subservient to the song, and not with a predominant and tumultuous noisiness, as in former times. In several places, much of the chanting is performed without it; and when necessity, or taste, enjoins its use, its aid is thrown in moderately, so as not at any time to overpower the vocal performance. Many portions of the 'services' are also sung without accompaniment.

The *most* remarkable feature, in the choral service, is undoubtedly the *Anthem*; and as its use has become peculiarly Protestant, and its history is full of interest to ecclesiastical antiquaries and Church musicians, a few words respecting it may not be inappropriate.

The English word ANTHEM is, according to some, a corruption of the Greek ἀντίφωνος, through the Anglo-Saxon *Antefen*, and, later, *Antemp*. It has also been derived, and perhaps more correctly, through the Anglo-Saxon word ANTHYMN, from ἀντί and ὕμνος. In the primitive Church, it was a hymn (ὕμνος) sung, as we have already noted, in alternate verses by opposite (ἀντί) bodies of singers. In course of time, the term Anthem, or Antiphon, was applied to hymns set to music specially composed for them, the words being sometimes in metre, and occasionally in prose. The latter, the prose anthems, soon became regular parts of the Latin mass, and are, now as formerly, sung both to Gregorian and harmonized music. Some prose anthems are also used in the Romish offices of vespers and compline, thus:—'*Sit nomen Domini benedictum in sæcula;*' and again, '*Nos qui vivimus, benedicimus Domino—Alleluia.*' Antiphons, in metre, are likewise frequent, viz.,—

'Crucem Sanctam subiit,
Qui infernum confregit,
Accinctus est potentia,
Surrexit die tertia—Alleluia.'

Of those set in harmony, may be noticed the well-known work of Rossini, commencing, '*Stabat Mater dolorosa.*' The music

of the anthem, or antiphon, at first simple, gradually assumed a more complex character, and words and music were frequently written by the same person. A very good instance of this occurs in the Evening Hymn, said, on good authority, to have been written and composed by King Henry VIII.; it is the 'Hymn in the Compline,' taken from a book entitled, *King Henry's Primer*, and is as follows:—

'HYMNE FOR FOUERE VOICES.

O Lorde, the Maker of al thing,
 We pray the nowe in this evening
 Us to defende, through thy mercy,
 From al deceite of our enemy.
 Let neither us deluded be,
 Good Lorde, with dreame or phantasy.
 Our hearte wakyng in the thou kepe—
 That we in sinne fal not on sleepe.
 O Father, throughe thy blessed Sonne,
 Grant us this oure petition,
 To whom with the Holy Ghost alwaies
 In heaven and yearth be laude and praise.
 Amen.'

King Henry owed his musical education to his having been, during the lifetime of his elder brother Prince Arthur, designed for the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Of the above specimen of his poetic talents, the Rev. William Mason says,* 'They are certainly very royal poetry.'

When the Reformation was more fully established, in the reign of King Edward VI., Sternhold's Psalms became the fashion and delight of the Court. One of the Church musicians of the day was induced to versify other parts of Scripture, in imitation of Sternhold, and set them to music of a peculiar kind, leading eventually to the anthem-writing of after-times. In 1553, a work was published, the title of which is so explicit, that it requires neither explanation nor comment, viz.:—'The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, and dedicated to the Kynge's most excellent Maiestye, by Christofer Tye, Doctor in Musyke, and one of the Gentylmen of hys Graces most honourable Chappell, with Notes to eche Chapter, to synge and also to play upon the Lute, very necessarye for Studentes after theyr Studye, to fyle theyr Wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge, to reade the good and godlye Storyes of the Lives of Christ and his Apostles.'

This is dedicated to the 'vertuous, godlye, learned Prynce

* *Collection of Anthems for York Minster, &c., in loc.*

Edwarde the VI.,' in twenty-five verses, of which the following form part : *—

'Your grace may note fro tyme to tyme
That some doth undertake
Upon the *Psalmes* † to write in ryme,
The verse pleasaunt to make ;
And some doth take inhande to wryte
Out of the booke of *Kynges*, ‡
Because they see your Grace delyte
In suche like godlye thinges.
And last of all, I youre poore man,
Whose doinges are full base,
Yet glad to do the best I can,
To geve unto your Grace,
Have thought it good nowe to recyte
The stories of the Actes,
Even of the twelve, as Luke doth wryte,
Of all their worthy factes.'

Dr. Tye proceeded no further than the fourteenth chapter of this work, as it did not answer the proposed end. The music is of a most elaborate kind, abounding in fugues and canons, apparently very inconsistent with the class of metre, of which we give a few specimens :—

Acts i. 1.—'In the former Treatyse to thee,
Dere friend Theo-phil-us,
I have written the ve-ri-te
Of the Lord Christ Jesus.

2.—Which he to do and eke to teache
Began until the day,
In which the Sprite up him did feache
To dwell above for aye.

xiv. 1.—It chaunced in Iconium,
As they oft times did use,
Together they into dyd cam—
The Sinagoge of Jues.
Where they dyd preache and only seke
God's grace then to atcheve,
That they so spake to Jue and Greke
That many dyd beleve.

27.—How be the doore of faythe untyde
The Gentylys in to call,

28.—And there long-tyme they dyd abyde
With the disciples all.'

* See Finlayson's *Anthems* ; Appendix, *in loc.*

† Alluding to Sternhold's version, already published.

‡ *The History of King David, taken from the Book of Kings,—drawen into Metre by John Marbeck (or Merbecke).*

A copy of this curious work is now so rare as to be scarcely attainable by a private person; most of our public and collegiate libraries are without it; and it was not until after considerable research, at the instance of the writer of this paper, that part of a MS. copy of words and music was found in the Bodleian, in October, 1856. Some of the fugues and canons may occasionally be met with, set to parts of Sternhold's Psalms, in consequence of the version of *The Actes* being deemed altogether unsuitable for devotional purposes. This composition was at first sung in the chapel of Edward VI., and in other places where choral service was performed; but not fully answering the author's expectation, he applied himself to composing music to words selected from the Psalter, in four or more parts; 'to which species of harmony, for want of a better, the name ANTHEM, a corruption of "Antiphon," was given.* It should be remembered that Sternhold's version of the Psalms was the delight of the Court of King Edward VI.; and Dr. Tye, in versifying *The Actes*, followed the plan of Sternhold, which evidently was, to give a metrical version, and not, as in later times, a paraphrase. The metre was entirely a secondary consideration; and the fidelity and accuracy of the translation can be ascertained, even by the English reader, by comparing the extracts given above with our authorized version of the New Testament. The first ANTHEM appeared on the failure of *The Actes*, and was composed by Dr. Tye to the words taken from Psalm xxx. This was soon followed by others of great note and celebrity. Authors rose into high favour; and some of the very best composers of Church music, who appeared shortly after this time, devoted their attention to these compositions, so as to render them the standards in after years. The words of anthems were not, however, always selected from the Psalms; even so lately as the reign of Charles II. some were used in a metrical form. The following curious extract is from a book of anthems, probably the earliest printed, for the use of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: †—

'ANTHEM L., AFTER THE CONSECRATION.

"*Quem denuo exaltavit Dominus Coronam.*"

TREBLE.—Now that the Lord hath readvanc't the Crown
Which thirst of Spoyl and Frantick Zeal pull'd down;
TENOR.—Now that the Lord the Miter hath restored;
Which with the Crown lay in the dust abhorr'd;

* Sir John Hawkins' *History of Music*, vol. iii., pp. 250–258. The terms ANTHEM and ANTIPHON mean much alike;—*ἀντι-φωνος* referring to the method of singing the words; while *ἀντι-φωνος* had reference to the alternate vocal performance only.

† Appendix to Finlayson's *Anthems*, in loc.

TREBLE.—Praise him, ye Kings }
 TENOR.—Praise him, ye Priests } *Chorus.*—All sing
 Glory to Christ our High Priest, Highest King,
 TREBLE.—May Judah's Royall Scepter still shine clear;
 TENOR.—May Aaron's Holy Rod still blossoms bear.
 TREBLE } Sceptre and Rod still rule and guide our land,
 and } And these whom God anoints feel no rude hand.
 TENOR. } May Love, Peace, Plenty, wait on Crown and Chair,
 And may both share in blessings as in care.
 CHORUS.—Angels look down with joy to see,
 Like that above, a Monarchie;
 Angels look down, and joy to see,
 Like that above, an Hierarchie.

RICH. HOSTER.'

This is, perhaps, one of the most curious specimens of the many apologies for the monarchical and hierarchial *jus Divinum*, which appeared in the period immediately following the Restoration in 1660. The anthems now in use are almost entirely selected from the Psalms, and other portions of Scripture. Some of the most famous composers of anthems were:—Alcock, Aldrich, Atwood, Battishill, Blake, Blow, Boyce, Child, Clarke, Croft, Ebdon, Farrant, Gibbons, Greene, Handel, Haydn, Hayes, Kent, King, Mendelssohn, Nares, Purcell, Rogers, Stevenson, Tallis, Travers, and Whitfield; with the following, still living:—Elvey, Smith, Stewart, Turle, Walmsley, and Wesley.

The metrical Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins was supplanted in Queen Anne's reign by that of Tate and Brady, now frequently used; and later still, in the time of Dr. Watts and the Wesleys, *hymns* began to be sung, until, in our day, the practice of congregational singing has become general in all Christian communities. But the time has arrived, when the original and worthy attempt of Sternhold and Hopkins ought to be rescued from the obscurity to which it has long been consigned by the tasteless admirers of Tate and Brady. We do not stand on the ground of simple *poetic merit*. Sternhold's version was never intended as sacred poetry; but the later version, though pretending superior metrical accuracy, has miserably failed as a *translation*. Premising that Sternhold's translation was issued long before our present authorized version of the Bible, we shall compare a few verses of the two translations:—

Psalm xcvi. 1, 2.—'O come let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.'

STERNHOLD.—‘O come let us lift up our voice,
And sing unto the Lord:
In him our rock of health rejoyce,
Let us with one accord.

2. Yea—let us come before his face—
To give him thanks and praise:
In singing Psalms unto his grace,
Let us be glad alwaies.’

Psalm cxliv. 1, 2.—‘Blessed be the Lord my strength, which
teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight: My
goodness and my fortress; my high tower and my deliverer;
my shield, and he in whom I trust; who subdueth my people
under me.’

STERNHOLD.—‘Blest be the Lord my strength that doth
Instruct my hands to fight,
The Lord that doth my fingers frame
To battle by his might.

2. He is my goodnesse, fort, and tower,
Deliverer and shield—
In him I trust, my people he
Subdues to me to yield.’

Psalm lxxxiv. 1, 2.—‘How amiable are thy tabernacles, O
Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for
the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh crieth out for
the living God.’

STERNHOLD.—‘How pleasant is thy dwelling place,
O Lord of hosts, to me!
The tabernacles of thy grace
How pleasant (Lord) they be!

2. My soule doth long full sore to goe
Into thy courts abroad:
My heart doth lust, my flesh also,
In thee the living God.’

It is unnecessary to say that the above are accurate and
faithful renderings of the inspired original; and although
their claim to be styled *poetry* may be reasonably disputed,
yet, for singing, (and for this they were designed,) it may be
firmly asserted that they are really excellent.* The Rev.
Dr. Reichel thus refers to the subject:†—‘The Psalms
were written originally for the purpose of being sung; and it

* Bishop Horsley (*Book of Psalms, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes*, vol. i.,
pp. 11, 13) vindicates Sternhold's version.

† *Six Lectures on the Book of Common Prayer*, by Charles Parsons Reichel, B.D.,
&c. (now D.D.) Dublin. 1857. *Vide* p. 54.

were much to be wished that we could everywhere sing them, *as might easily be done to some simple chant*, instead of singing the miserable caricature of a metrical version which is annexed to most Prayer-books, but which, I must observe, has no legal authority whatever. Surely, it were better to sing the Psalms in the very words which are literally rendered from the inspired original, rather than in that mawkish, emasculated paraphrase, which often not merely weakens, but destroys, the sense. The metrical version used by the Scottish Kirk, rude though it be, is generally true to the meaning, and often has a certain rugged grandeur of expression. But the Psalter of Tate and Brady has nothing but a creamy smoothness to recommend it, to secure which every element of greatness has been sacrificed.*

While cordially subscribing Dr. Reichel's estimate of the comparative merits of the versions which he mentions, and his preference for the literal translation, instead of what he calls 'the mawkish, emasculated paraphrase,' we cannot think that the singing of the Psalms 'to some simple chant' could be done so easily as he supposes. In collegiate churches, where much skill is attained by daily use, it is done at present; but in ordinary congregations, it would be as difficult as the choral service, which, as we have already remarked, was never designed for parochial or general adoption. Whatever may be said of the poetical merits of existing metrical versions, they are, beyond question, much more easy of execution, and, therefore, much better suited to general use.

Dr. Reichel further speaks of another abuse:—"But in Ireland, we are not merely cursed with a metrical version, some samples of which are here given, [alluding to specimen verses previously quoted,] but even this version is cut up in most churches, in Weyman's *Melodia Sacra*, a book almost universally used, without the least attention even to sense. Thus, in the 122nd Psalm, the ninth verse is made to succeed the fourth verse, thus:—

" 'T is thither by Divine command
The tribes of God repair,
Before his ark to celebrate
His name with praise and prayer.
"But most of all I'll seek thy good,
And ever wish thee well,
For Sion and the temple's sake,
Where God vouchsafes to dwell."

* At the last revision of the Common Prayer, the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels, were directed to be read out of our present authorized version; the Psalms in Tyndale and Coverdale's translation were retained, as being better suited for singing than King James's version. See *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, p. 134.

‘This is perhaps the most extreme instance of the extent to which custom can make people insensible not merely of what is tasteless, but what is absurd. I have heard these two verses sung thus in immediate connexion dozens of times, without any one’s seeming to be aware of the absurdity, and without having ever heard a remonstrance against it.’

As has been already stated, Dr. Watts and the Wesleys caused a revolution in the sacred poetry of the sanctuary. Not only did they supply new, and in many respects improved, versions of the Psalter, in which the strength and truth of Sternhold is often combined with more than the smoothness of Tate and Brady; but they gave metrical form to those New Testament sentiments which are not to be found in the Psalms of David, though they demand a place in the worship of the Christian Church. The Wesleys, especially, the instruments of Divine Providence in a second reformation, in this respect followed Luther, the instrument of the first; they also imparted an element of permanence and extension to that glorious work by pressing congregational singing into the holy service. They composed hymns adapted to every stage of the spiritual life; hymns in which the religious affections found free and ennobling expression; and which, as a collection, are unrivalled to this day for poetical beauty, scriptural orthodoxy, and genuine religious feeling. Mainly in consequence of the favour with which these compositions have been received, hymns of every description, and of every degree of merit or worthlessness, are now universally adopted in these kingdoms. Every community of Christians has its hymnal; nay, even particular dioceses, parishes, and congregations have collections for their special uses. This is in one sense advantageous, as expressing the sentiments of the sect or party from which the selections have emanated; but it carries with it a crying evil, and one that cannot be sufficiently deplored. We refer to the general practice of altering hymns to suit denominational differences of opinion; sometimes to avoid the consequences of literary piracy, and occasionally, it would appear, merely for alteration’s sake. These changes may be strongly affirmed to be always for the worse; even in a literary point of view this is so palpably evident that few will deny it. Nor is it a modern fashion: even in the time of Watts and the Wesleys, (the principal sufferers by it,) it was such a common practice that John Wesley publicly referred to it in the following terse and telling sentences: ‘Many gentlemen have done my brother and me (though without naming us) the honour to reprint many of our hymns. Now they are perfectly welcome to do so, provided

they print them just as they are. But I desire they would not attempt to mend them; for they really are not able. None of them is able to mend either the sense or the verse. Therefore I must beg of them one of these two favours: either to let them stand just as they are, to take them for better, for worse; or to add the true reading in the margin, or at the bottom of the page, that we may no longer be accountable either for the nonsense or for the doggerel of other men.* It were a vain and interminable labour to select instances in which the standard hymns of eminent poets have been distorted to express poetic sentiments and theological doctrines completely opposed to the known views of the writers, to say nothing of the literary murder inflicted on the verse.†

The *varieties* of Church music now in use require some remarks. Omitting further reference to the cathedral services, we may—whether speaking of chants, services, anthems, or chorales—range them under two great divisions,—the florid and ornamental on the one hand, and the plain Church style on the other. The former division includes musical intricacies of all kinds; the latter is characterized by such plainness of arrangement as may be consistent with solemnity and grandeur. The florid style is very little removed from that of the secular music of the day. The true Church style preserves, throughout all changes of taste and fashion, the distinguishing grand and solemn features which have ever separated it, not only in degree but in kind, from secular compositions. Up to a comparatively recent period, even in the present generation, florid compositions were most commonly used, all others being designated ‘stupid, heavy,’ and the like. Of late years, however, the true ecclesiastical style has found among its supporters all those judges whose competence to form an opinion can be evidenced by sound reason; mere dogmatic assertion being the customary defence on the other side. The suitability of the ancient style is evident, inasmuch as music of this kind, being plain and uniform in its movement, is easily performed by persons of moderate ability and vocal power. In a mixed congregation, for example, if it be desirable that *all* should sing, the song should not be too high, or too

* Preface to his Hymn Book.

† This subject is one on which we might have been tempted to dilate, but that it deserves an article to itself. Meantime we may refer to a capital article on the indefensible and sometimes unprincipled use of the hymns of the Wesleys, from the pen, as we understand, of the Rev. J. Jenkins, D.D., of Philadelphia, which appeared in a recent number of the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, and has been in part reprinted in the *Wesleyan Magazine* for last July.

low; not too difficult, or too varied in its movements; otherwise it would fail to answer the desired end.* The true chorale, when properly sung, has neither the flighty course of the jig, nor the mournful pace of the dirge; but, possessing a solemn yet cheerful dignity, is thus more in harmony with those feelings of reverential joy with which every Christian should 'give thanks unto the Lord,' and 'come before His presence with a song.' As in the times in which we live it is the generally received opinion that the sanctuaries of the Most High should be distinguished by their appropriate architecture, and consequently we no longer build churches like theatres or heathen temples, or with uninviting resemblances to factories or stables,—so we rejoice to know that the *music* of the sanctuary is becoming exclusively sacred. And surely, as prayer is addressed to the Giver of all good, with a solemnity and awe quite distinct from the conversation of man with man, so should His praise be expressed with fitting reverence.

Connected with Church music generally there are two questions of much interest, both of which have been warmly contested. The first may be thus stated: Is the use of instrumental music right and beneficial? The second has respect to the practical bearing of the whole subject, and may be put as follows: Should the singing in churches be exclusively choral, or should it be entirely congregational?

Referring to the former, it is sufficient to say that we cannot concur with those who conceive instrumental music to be an impropriety under the Christian dispensation. We readily admit that it is not after apostolic usage; or rather that such an usage is not mentioned as adopted by the first disciples.† But it must be remembered that the primitive Church struggled for existence in times of bitter persecution and poverty; its assemblies were often held in secret, at early and late hours, to avoid informers; and its members, for the most part, were taken from the humble and unlearned grades of society. As we cannot allow that such a state of things constitutes a *jus Divinum* for the most minute particulars of Church affairs in all succeeding ages, so we may avow our belief that, as regards instrumental music, there is no specific rule of right or wrong deducible from Scripture or primitive usage. But some will urge that, although the use of instrumental music

* One strong objection to the florid style is, that a tune of this class is not strictly suitable to any other hymn than that for which it was composed; endless absurdities arise from a change in this respect. On the other hand, the true chorale may be sung to any hymn of its own metre.

† See *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, pp. 131, 132.

may not be unlawful, yet it is other than beneficial. Occasionally we believe it is not. In the trained choirs of cathedrals, for instance, the harmony at times is better *felt* without the organ, especially in modern music composed exclusively for vocalists. But unless any given congregation is also a trained body of singers, it is our honest conviction, after frequent and painful experience, that no individual stentor (had he even 'an hundred tongues, a throat of brass, and adamantine lungs') is *physically* able to accomplish what is effected with majestic ease by the noble tones of that wonderful instrument, the organ.*

The second inquiry is one of great importance: Should the singing in churches be exclusively choral, or should it be entirely congregational? In this, as in many other questions, we think a middle course best. That it should be exclusively choral would be in effect to deprive the people of any share in it; this will not, and ought not to, satisfy Protestants. On the other hand, that it should be entirely congregational, in the present state of musical knowledge, or rather *ignorance*, would speedily result in the banishment from the sanctuary of one of God's most valuable gifts, one designed to be specially devoted to His service. It is well that there should be not only some *times* when, but some *places* where, the highest musical talent should be devoted to this glorious purpose.

The adaptation of the Cathedral Service to partial congregational use has met with great success in the Sunday Evening Services at St. Paul's. The introduction of psalms and other chorales to well-known airs, produced such a result as astonished the most sanguine. This, however, is not a novelty: two hundred years ago, in York minster, a similar scene took place, as thus recorded in Mace's *Musick's Monument*. 'But when that vast concording unity of the whole congregational chorus came (as I may say) thundering in, even so, as it made the very ground shake under us, (oh, the unutterable ravishing soul's delight!) in the which I was so transported and wrapt up into high contemplation, that there was no room left in my whole man, viz., body and spirit, for anything below Divine and heavenly raptures.'

It is not necessary to argue the propriety, and, in fact, the obligation of congregations, to join audibly in singing; although

* Moderate Presbyterians (we do not use the term 'moderate' in its Scottish Church-party sense) do not now contend that instrumental music in churches is *wrong*. Dr. Cumming argues rationally about this, but asserts it to be *inexpedient*, and that solely for musical reasons. (See his *Lectures*.) Few musicians will here absolutely agree with him. In some few Presbyterian congregations organs have actually been introduced of late years.

it may not be amiss to call attention to a very prevalent neglect in this respect, especially by a class who have more ability than others to assist in this most delightful part of Divine service,—the better educated female members of our congregations. It is more than a pity to find voices silent in the sanctuary which are trained elsewhere to sweetness and correct singing; as if musical talent and cultivation had no other or higher end than to procure admiration, or contribute to the gaieties of social life, and were thrown away in the worship of God. We suspect that such silence is often thoughtless; but it may often be traced to a want of earnest religious feeling. To obtain the concurrence of entire congregations in this part of Divine worship is, and probably will be for a long time, the trial-point of Church musicians.

Choirs of singers are very ancient institutions, belonging to almost every denomination. They are the sources of much good, but, in many cases, of much contention and ill-feeling. This latter state of things arises mainly from their democratic or republican constitution, by which all being presumed equal, (we do not now speak of cathedral choirs,) all being voluntary agents, and not always governed by an acknowledged superior, they very frequently damage the cause of which they are the professed advocates. There are two remedies for such calamities. One, that choirs should be paid agents: this would settle all disputes as to duty and obedience. The only practicable alternative of the paid agency system consists in all members of a choir taking on them a voluntary obligation to obey, in every particular, the teacher or conductor, who, on the other hand, should be selected with great caution, and should always be a good musician. Either plan, properly carried out, would, as we shall presently see, conduce very much to the advancement of Church music.

To combine, then, the advantages of a well regulated choir with congregational singing, the principal object of the former should be, to support and lead the ever-varying elements of the congregation, by giving such music as can be sung by all the people together; and, that the choral element be neither lost nor destroyed, there should be the occasional performance, at proper times, of music of the higher class.

It being then established that Church music should be mainly, if not entirely, congregational, we are next led to ask, Should singing be in *unison* or in *harmony*? On this question the very highest authorities may be quoted on both sides. The Church singing in Germany, as is well known, is mostly in unison, and its attractive features are familiar to many Englishmen. The perfection of this system is due, not only to the

general suitability and excellence of the chorales, but to the fact that set and unvarying tunes are printed to all the hymns used by them; and when an assembly, all whose members sing from early youth, joins in a chorale, the effect is impressive in the extreme. It should not be supposed, however, that this congregational singing is confined to unison in every instance; nor are Protestants the only performers. The German Roman Catholics are just as active as Protestants, having, in the days of the Reformation, adopted Luther's practice, which the Monks found to advance the cause of Protestantism amazingly. A most interesting specimen of this it fell to our lot to witness on one occasion in St. Stephen's cathedral, Vienna. On a Sunday afternoon three priests read vespers at the high altar in the choir; the responses were heartily joined in by a large congregation, the service being in the German vernacular. This done, a few notes were given by a small organ placed over one of the stalls; and immediately all present commenced singing a hymn to a plaintive melody. When about seven verses had been sung, the Litany was said as before; a second hymn was now sung by the people, in like style with the first; and the whole concluded by a sermon delivered with earnest eloquence. Much of all this is undoubtedly due to that imperial reformer of Church abuses, Joseph II.

Recurring to the unison question, after due consideration it may be said, that, except in cases where large masses congregate, and give a solemn grandeur to the chorale, singing in harmony of a simple kind is far preferable for general use. The taste for harmony, and the ability to 'take a part,' are natural gifts; and the various kinds of voices of men, women, and children, may be looked on as indications of corresponding endowments and proprieties. Besides, unisonous singing must at times compel low voices to range high, and *vice versa*, thus contradicting an order of nature. Moreover, music of a very small compass must be used, to obviate, as far as may be, this evident result; and this, in our view, is a very solid objection.

Then, again, in order to insure the singing of God's praise in His house by all the people, what should be done?—We answer, Very much, but only very gradually. Some seem to imagine that general directions such as, 'Sing all, sing all in tune, sing in time' and such like, will answer every purpose. It may do so by accident; but a moderate and easily attained knowledge of music, as an art, is absolutely necessary; and until our nation learns music from early childhood, as the Germans learn it, and as we now learn to read, any general

success cannot be hoped for. In this respect, however, there is great improvement. As a rule, the young everywhere are taught to sing; and if progress be made for a generation at the present rate, this picture may easily be realized. It is possible to have singing classes in every town;* often in villages, and in connexion with places of worship of all denominations. If this were done, and if the numbers who can sing at home, but who never open their lips in churches, would practise, as a matter of duty, in private houses, the music of the sanctuary, another great good might be effected. We should regard it as much their duty to sing as to pray, and no Minister should think this important work unworthy of strenuous exertion and great attention on his part.

The people being presumed capable of reading music, a definite selection should be adopted by every congregation. Some book should be fixed upon, sufficiently comprehensive, and yet so cheap as to be without inconvenience connected with the psalms or hymns there used. This is as necessary in its way as the authorized version of the Scriptures among theologians. It prevents every one having his own translation or composition, besides securing many other obvious advantages. The same principle is recognised in cathedral music. In the case of those standard works which are known and used everywhere, any part may be purchased, and will be found uniform with copies in other places.† If an assembly of the best musicians of the day was called, to make an authorized collection of chorales and chants to be used all over the kingdom by all denominations, a lasting benefit would be conferred on the community. There would then be no setting up of individual opinion, often ill-founded, as to a particular tune or chant being good or bad; no performance of compositions which, being by members of the choir, are for that reason sung lustily and often, whether good, bad, or indifferent. But just as any man who can read may enter a parish church, and, if he has a Prayer-book in his hand, easily join in the service;—so, if an authorized Church music-book were in use,‡ the same

* See the plentiful harvest from the labours of Hullah, Rev. John Curwen, and others.

† Any person can purchase Novello's editions of Services and Anthems either in score or in part. With such a volume, portably bound, he may enter any cathedral in the kingdom, and join in the services. However, he must know how to use his book.

‡ But we despair of any such collection being made, or, if made, adopted in this kingdom. It could not even be forced upon the Established Church, (for the most obsequious Churchmen would still claim the right of pleasing themselves in matters of taste,) and certainly would not be accepted by Dissenters. Besides, there are plenty of excellent collections, any of which, if adopted with the authority of the

person, being musically educated to a very moderate extent, might, wherever he went, join, not only with the spirit, but also with the understanding, in ascribing praise to the Lord God Omnipotent, the King of kings and Lord of lords.

ART. III.—1. *The Physical Geography of the Sea.* By M. F. MAURY, LL.D., Lieut. U.S.N., Superintendent of the National Observatory, Washington. 8vo. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1859.

2. *The Sea and its Living Wonders.* Translated from the Fourth German Edition, and partly re-written by the Author, DR. G. HARTWIG. With numerous Woodcuts and twelve chromoxylographic Plates. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. 8vo. London: Longmans and Co. 1860.

To us haughty islanders the sea is so much of a home that when foreigners write books upon it, and think it worth their while to publish them in our sea-girt England, our first emotion is one of astonishment at their audacity. On finding, however, that one of them is of that stalwart young nation which inherits our own maritime predilections, and even contests our own maritime supremacy, we are not disinclined to listen to his discoursing; but what can a German tell us about thalassine affairs that we did not know before? Truth to say, nothing: nothing but what he has gathered from other authorities, that were as patent to us as to him. The result of an examination does not belie our anticipations. Between the two books whose titles stand at the head of this article, and which to a considerable extent lead their readers over the same ground, there is just the difference that exists between a man who comes from exploring a new and rich field, loaded with information so fresh, so strange, so important, and so copious, that all our attention is absorbed in the matter, and we forget, like himself, all the arts and graces of delivery,—and one who, having got up a very clever lecture for a Philosophical Society, at the cost of many notes taken at libraries and reading-rooms, delivers it, with a very sharp eye to clap-trap, to his admiring audience. The learned Doctor, it is true, dating from Göttingen, assures us, in his preface of six lines, that ‘for years his daily walks have been upon the beach;’

Minister or other responsible officers of a congregation, would obviate the evil complained of in the text. And it is far more important that the singing should be well regulated within the congregation itself, than adapted to the convenience of an occasional visitor.

but the reader looks in vain for proof of this in any original observation. Is it possible that a naturalist, who 'loves the ocean as the Swiss mountaineer loves his native Alps,' can have walked *daily* upon its shore *for years*, and not have opened up new and unexpected mines of scientific fact in such an inviting field? not have lighted upon scores of delightful discoveries, where all is so boundless, so patent, and yet so little known? Yet where is the result? Where are the *opima spolia* of these *years' daily* researches? The four hundred pages are full of interesting matter, indeed; most interesting, most fascinating. The information has been gathered with persevering industry, and selected with praiseworthy care, and presented with sprightliness and grace; and if the work had come with honest front as *what it is*, a compilation, not a word but of kindly welcome and warm approval should have met it; but the insinuation in the preface, that it is the fruit of individual observation, ought to be exposed.

Nor is the publishers' part in the work altogether *bond fide*. The 'chromoxylographic plates,' or, in the vernacular, woodcuts printed in colours, have a flashy style, but several of them are copies from other works; and, of the remainder, many of the natural history details are ludicrously inexact: one or two only are good. But the woodcuts proper, what of them? These number upwards of three hundred, and form a very marked feature of the book. But we had a strong suspicion that they were old friends. We took down from our shelves Swainson's volumes in Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, Owen's *Invertebrata*, and Maunder's *Treasury of Natural History*; and the cuts,—the actual identical cuts,—turned up by scores. The tiny blocks of the last-named work have been re-used with special profusion. Of the three hundred and twenty woodcuts in Dr. Hartwig's work, we doubt if twenty have been engraved expressly for it; we really doubt if there is a single *original* figure.* Will English readers who have purchased a book so vaunted think that they are honourably treated?

Lieutenant Maury's book, on the other hand, is the production of a master. The grand field of oceanic physics is one in which he has no rival and no second; he is the Humboldt of the sea. His observations come to us loaded with facts; grand facts of his own accumulating, and many of them of his own discovering; while his eminence and zeal in this research constitute him the

* So blindly has this employment of old cuts been made, that several have been introduced which have not the slightest relation to the subject of the book; such as scenes from the interior of North America. We might as appropriately have been treated to the latest French fashions.

acknowledged and legitimate centre to which the ever augmenting streams of new fact flow. As Linnæus from his chair at Upsal sent forth a host of young, ardent, and enterprising pupils to scour the world for specimens and facts, which he used as raw material for his *Systema Naturæ*; so Maury has his scholars in all the navies of the civilized world, who perpetually collect in every sea, and pour at his feet, the observations, out of which he is continually weaving the great web of a *Systema Maris*.

Oh! it is a glorious subject, that mighty sea! When we stand alone on some lofty cliff, some bold headland that juts out into the waste of water which roars and boils in hoarse rage far below, and gaze out to the vanishing horizon on three sides, with no land to break the continuity but the narrow strip beneath our feet, that fades to a blue line behind, an awful sense of its grandeur steals over the mind. But still more is this impression heightened to him who, in the midst of the Atlantic, climbs to the main-topmast cross-trees of some goodly ship at daybreak, and watches the bursting of the sun from out of the sparkling waves. A sense of majestic loneliness in the vast unbroken waste is felt: the deck is so far below that it is reduced to a small area, and its sounds scarcely reach so high; the horizon is immensely expanded; perhaps the winds are hushed, and the boundless waste is sleeping in glittering stillness; not a speck interrupts the glorious circle: a solemn awe pervades the devout gazer's mind, as he recalls the words, 'This great and wide sea!'

We have sometimes pleased our fancy, as we have stood on the beach of one of our south-western bays, with the thought, that, if we could send forth a little bird, with the power of unflagging flight, straight out to seaward, strictly forbidding the pinion to be closed until land was beneath her, we might welcome her again to England, without her course of twenty-five thousand miles having deviated sensibly from her original departure. Right away would she stretch, on something like a S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. course, keeping between the meridians of 10° and 30° W., across the line on 20° , away through the South Atlantic, crossing the horrid pole, and then up, up, through the Pacific, leaving New Zealand on the right and Australia on the left,—over that coral sea, where the isles, though they look thickly studded on our maps, are widely enough separated by vast horizons,—over the still more desert North Pacific, in the meridian of 170° W.,—across the scattered Aleutian chain,—through Behring's Strait, and over the Arctic pole,—giving as wide a berth to Spitzbergen on the one hand as to Iceland on the other,—till she folded her wings on our own fair land once more,—having performed her weary stretch of ocean almost in a straight line.

But even this uninterrupted length, vast as it is, will give us but an inadequate notion of the world of waters, unless we consider its area also. By what comparisons shall we grasp an idea of this? It will take a diligent traveller several years of almost constant railway journeying, to form a tolerably adequate notion of the extent of England. Then let him essay to cover the expanse of ocean with Englands; and he will have to lay down two thousand five hundred, side by side, and end to end, before the watery plain is covered. Or let a vigorous pedestrian set out on a journey to follow the windings of the coast line, whithersoever its indentations may lead him,—he may omit the shores of the smaller islands,—and yet a quarter of a century will have elapsed before he have finished his task, allowing him fifteen miles every day.

But 'the depths of the sea!' What is in that quiet bosom, that placid, unfathomable heart, far below the superficial rufflings of the storm? We have often looked down from the taffrail of a ship becalmed in the midst of the ocean,—down, down, into the clear, pellucid blue,—and wondered how far it was to the solid bottom, and what sort of a floor it was, and what was going on in those solitudes. The world beneath the waters has beauties of its own, and not a few observers have remarked the high gratification with which they have gazed into its recesses, when these have not been so profound as to be beyond the exploring power of the eye. In the quiet lagoons of the coral isles of the South Sea, as a canoe glides over the smooth surface, scarcely dimpling it with its progression, so transparent is the water, that every feature of the bottom, though many fathoms deep, is distinctly traced. The groves of living coral, branching in fantastic imitation of the shrubs and trees of the land, and bearing in their thousands of expanded polypes, crimson, green, orange, and yellow, what seem to be brilliant composite flowers in profusion, form a strange submarine shrubbery of the gayest colours. The gorgeous shells—those fine cones, and cowries, and olives, that form the pride of many an European cabinet—are crawling idly over the brainstones and madrepores, each partially covered with its fleshy mantle, and expanding its broad undulating foot, which are glittering in still richer painting than even the porcelain shells. Long ribbon-fishes, that gleam like burnished silver, dart by; and parrot-fishes, coloured with the bright hues of the birds whose names they bear, peacefully browse and nibble the young tips of the growing coral. Fantastically-formed little shrimp-like beings, almost as transparent as the water itself, and invisible but for the crimson and violet marks that bedeck their bodies, are sailing or shooting through the weedy groves; and

tiny squadrons of pellucid jelly-fishes, and innumerable other strange creatures, now reflect the beam of the vertical sun, and flash into radiance, then relapse into invisibility and secrecy again. Then, like the demon of the paradise, comes stealing along the grim and hateful shark, turning up his little green eye of concentrated malignity, as he passes under your boat, and making your very soul shudder at that gaze.

So, again, in the Caribbean Sea, whose crystalline clearness attracted the admiring notice of Columbus, we have stood with delight on the bowsprit of a ship, as she thriddled her perilous way through a channel of the coral reef, so narrow as scarcely to allow her sides to pass without rubbing, and marked the sea-life that studded those stony walls. Then, emerging upon a deep bay, where the distant bottom of yellow sand seemed only a few yards beneath the eye, we marked the dark-purple, long-spined *Echini*, and vast, sluggish, red *Urasters*, and huge *Strombi* and *Cassides*, go straggling along; while here and there some enormous tree of coral, or shapeless mass of brown sponge, rose from the sandy waste, like solitary bushes in the desert, and flexible corallines waved their long arms to and fro, in the gentle swell of the ocean.

The Sicilian seas, according to Quatrefages, from their habitual stillness and transparency, afford peculiar facilities for exploring the submarine world. As he leans over the side of his boat, the philosopher glides over plains, dales, and hillocks, which—in some places naked, and in others carpeted with green or brownish shrubbery—remind him of the prospects of the shore. The eye distinguishes the smallest inequalities of the piled-up rocks, plunges a hundred feet deep into their cavernous recesses, and clearly discerns the undulations of the sand, the worm-holes of the rugged stone, and the feathery tufts of seaweed, defining all with a sharpness that seems to reduce to nothing the intervening stratum of fluid, and makes the observer forget the unearthly character of his picture. He seems to be hanging in mid-space, or looking down, like a bird from the air, upon the landscape below. Strangely-formed animals people these submarine regions, and give animation to them. Fishes, sometimes singly, like the sparrows of our streets, or the warblers of our hedges, sometimes uniting in flocks like starlings or pigeons, roam among the crags, wander through the thickets of the *algæ*, or disperse and shoot away in all directions, as the shadow of the boat passes over them. *Caryophylliæ*, *Gorgoniæ*, Sea-anemones, and thousands of other zoophytes, with flower-like petals, blossom beneath the tempered rays of the sun, enjoying his undimmed brightness, without his raging heat. The long and

feathery kinds stream out from the hollows of the rock, in a homely grey garb by day, but all lustrous with sparks of living flame by night. Enormous dark-blue *Holothuriæ* creep slowly along on the bottom, or mount the perpendicular rocks by means of their thousand vesicular feet; and crimson and purple star-fishes stretch out their long radiating arms, or curl them hither and thither, as they sit on the projecting angles.

The *Mollusca*, some encased in stony shells, others whose unprotected nakedness is compensated by their gorgeous colours or elegant forms, go gliding along; while awkward, long-legged sea-spiders run over them in their oblique courses, or pinch them with their far-reaching claws. Other shapes, resembling our lobsters and prawns, gambol among the weeds, seek for an instant the surface, to touch the thin air, and then, with one mighty stroke of their broad tail-plates, instantly disappear, with the rapidity of birds, under some friendly arch or overhanging tuft. And strange beings are there, unknown to our colder seas: the *Salpæ*, curious mollusks, of glassy transparency, which, linked together, form long swimming chains; *Beroes*, like globes of pure crystal, marked with meridian lines; *Diphyes*, so transparent as only to be distinguished from the water in which they float when the eye catches the reflection of light from their sides; and *Stephanomiæ*, long wreaths or strings of glassy flowers, adorned with bright tints, but so evanescent that, when transferred to a vase, they presently wither away, and leave no trace, no cloud, no sediment behind, to tell that a living form had recently tenanted that vacuity of clear water.

Not as on the land, where the charm of variety is chiefly given to the landscape by the vegetation, the luxuriant apparel of the submarine prospect is mainly dependent on the profusion, the gaiety, and the elegance of the animal life; and this particularly in the warmer seas. Characteristic as is the luxuriant development of vegetable life of the sea-floor in the temperate zones, the fulness and multiplicity of the marine *Fauna* is just as prominent in the intertropical and subtropical regions. Whatever is beautiful, wondrous, or strange in the great and populous tribes of fishes, mollusks, crustaceans, stars, jellies, and polypes, is crowded into the tepid and glowing seas of the tropics, rests on the smooth white sands, clothes the rough cliffs, clings, even when the space is before occupied, parasitically to the tenants already in occupation, or swims through the free depths and warm shallows,—while the vegetation holds a very subordinate rank, both as to variety of form and species, and also as to abundance of individuals. It has been recognised as a law in the upper world, that animal life, being better adapted to

accommodate itself to outward circumstances, is more universally diffused than vegetable life, or at least can survive the privation of conditions ordinarily essential to vitality, longer than vegetation; and hence we find the sub-polar seas swarming with whales, seals, birds, fishes, and immense multitudes of invertebrate animals, when every trace of vegetation has disappeared in the rigorous climate, and the frosty sea nourishes no sea-weed in its bosom. The same law appears to prevail in the depths of the ocean; for, as we descend into its profound recesses, vegetable life ceases at a moderate depth; while from the recesses to which no ray of light has ever struggled, *Foraminifera*, *Infusoria*, and other classes of animal existences, are brought up by the sounding-line in vast profusion.

Sir Arthur de Capell Broke has drawn an interesting picture of the singularly transparent sea on the coast of Norway. 'As we passed slowly,' he observes, 'over the surface, the bottom, which here was in general a white sand, was clearly visible, with its minutest objects, where the depth was from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. During the whole course of the tour I made, nothing appeared to me so extraordinary as the inmost recesses of the deep, unveiled to the eye. The surface of the ocean was unruffled by the slightest breeze, and the gentle splashing of the oars scarcely disturbed it. Hanging over the gunwale of the boat, with wonder and delight I gazed on the slowly moving scene below. Where the bottom was sandy, the different kinds of *Asterias*, *Echinus*, and even the smallest shells, appeared at that great depth conspicuous to the eye; and the water seemed, in some measure, to have the effect of a magnifier, by enlarging the objects like a telescope, and bringing them seemingly nearer. Now, creeping along, we saw, far beneath, the rugged sides of a mountain rising towards our boat, the base of which, perhaps, was hidden some miles in the great deep below. Though moving on a level surface, it seemed almost as if we were ascending the height under us; and, when we passed over its summit, which rose in appearance to within a few feet of our boat, and came again to the descent, which on this side was suddenly perpendicular, and overlooking a watery gulf, as we pushed gently over the last point of it, it seemed as if we had thrown ourselves down this precipice; the illusion, from the crystal clearness of the deep, actually producing a start. Now we came again to a plain, and passed slowly over the submarine forests and meadows, which appeared in the expanse below; inhabited, doubtless, by thousands of animals, to which they afford both food and shelter,—animals unknown to man; and I could sometimes observe large fishes of singular shapes gliding

softly through the watery thickets, unconscious of what was moving above them. As we proceeded, the bottom became no longer visible; its fairy scenes gradually faded to the view, and were lost in the dark green depths of the ocean.'

But none of these peeps beneath the surface give us the slightest idea of the depths of the ocean. Where and what is the ocean floor in 'blue water?' Until within a very few years this question remained without an answer, and deep-sea soundings were only a delusion and a snare. Many enterprising officers in the navies of Europe had made essays to get bottom in the open ocean; some with the common 'deep sea-line,' some with spun-yarn, and some with a slender thread of silk; but all had proceeded upon the assumption that, as soon as the weight touched the bottom, either the shock would be perceptible to the hand, or the line would instantly slacken, and cease to run off the reel.

These assumptions were, however, fallacious. It is found that the diminution of weight, caused by the resting of the lead, when vast lengths of line are out, is not perceptible to the human hand; and, moreover, that there are currents in the profundities of the sea which belly-out and carry away the line long after the plummet is at rest; and this even when, owing to the freedom from current of the superficial strata, the line appears to be perpendicular. Thus immense lengths of line were run out, but no satisfactory soundings were obtained.

Then other devices were projected. One thought that a charge of powder, in a sort of shell, might be exploded by the shock of striking the bottom, and that the reverberation being heard at the surface, a judgment might be formed of the depth, from the rate at which sound is known to travel through water. But the experiment did not answer expectation. The shell exploded, but the surface gave no sign. Sounding-plummets were constructed, having a column of air within them, which would indicate the amount of pressure to which it had been subjected. In moderate depths, these answered well; but, in great deeps, just when their aid was wanted, they failed; for the instrument could not be constructed of sufficient strength to withstand the enormous pressure of a weight equal to some hundred atmospheres.

It was proposed by one mechanician to adapt the principle of the magnetic telegraph to deep-sea soundings. The wire, properly coated, was to be laid up in the sounding-line, and to the plummet was attached machinery, so contrived that at the increase of every hundred fathoms, and by means of the additional pressure, the circuit would be restored, and a

message would come up to tell how many hundred fathoms the plummet had travelled down. This brilliant idea could not, however, be made sufficiently simple for practical avail.

Lieutenant Maury had a curious contrivance executed under his own direction. To the lead was attached, upon the principle of the screw-propeller, a small piece of clock-work for registering the number of revolutions made by the little screw during the descent; and it having been ascertained, by experiment in shallow water, that the apparatus in descending would cause the propeller to make one revolution for every fathom of perpendicular descent, hands, provided with the power of self-registration, were attached to a dial, and the instrument was complete. Mr. Maury says that it worked beautifully in moderate depths, but failed in blue water, from the difficulty of hauling it up if the line used were small, and of getting it down if it were large. But we do not see, from his description, how it was to be known when the plummet was at the bottom.

As in all such cases, difficulties and disappointments only stimulated invention. Somebody suggested that a quantity of common wrapping twine, marked off into lengths of a hundred fathoms, and rolled on a reel in a definite quantity, would make a good deep sea-line, with a cannon-ball for a plummet. It was thought that as soon as the ball was on the bottom, the reel would stop; then the twine being cut away, and the remainder measured, the length run off would be known, and the depth obtained at the cost of a cannon-ball and a few pounds of shop-twine. The simple suggestion was presently adopted, and some very deep casts were reported; 34,000, 39,000, 46,000, and 50,000 feet of line were run off, but no bottom found, except in the third of these cases, upon which circumstances afterward threw doubt. It was only now discovered that in great depths the line would never cease to run out of its own accord; so that there was no means of knowing whether the shot had reached the bottom.

These experiments were not, however, lost labour. For by invariably using a ball of the same form and weight, and twine of the same make, it was found that the rate of descent was according to a regularly diminishing scale. This having been well ascertained, it could be determined with approximate accuracy when the shot ceased to carry out the twine, and when it began to run in obedience to the current alone; for this latter power was uniform, while the former was regularly retarding.

Though the depth of the profound sea was thus ascertainable, no tidings as yet had come up from it. The ball and twine

were sacrificed, as it was impracticable to weigh the ball with so slight a thread, from so vast a depth. But a beautiful contrivance was now invented by Lieutenant Brooke, U.S.N., by which the long desired object was at length achieved, and specimens were brought up from the very floor of the ocean. It is a most simple affair. The ball (a 64lb. shot) is perforated perpendicularly, to admit a rod, which is hollow at the end, and armed with grease, to slide freely through it. The rod at its upper end bears two arms working on hinges, to which the sounding-line is attached, and which, while the line is strained, are kept projecting obliquely upwards. A tape suspends the ball, fastened by two rings, which are slipped over the ends of the arms. The moment the end of the rod touches the bottom, the line slackens, the arms drop, the rings slip off, and the ball is loose. Then the rod alone is drawn up, with a specimen of the sand or mud, or whatever else may be at the bottom adhering to the 'arming,' as the grease is called.

What, then, is the result? That in no case in which reliable soundings have been obtained, does the depth exceed 25,000 feet, or something less than five miles. This is in the North Atlantic; but experiments are yet far too few to allow it to be predicated with certainty that much greater depressions do not exist in other oceans.

Across this ocean it is found that a remarkable causeway or elevated ridge of table-ground runs, connecting the shores of the British Isles with Newfoundland. The availability of this causeway for a submarine telegraph was instantly seen, and it has received the name of the Telegraphic Plateau. The bold attempt to connect the two sides of the ocean with an electric wire, its transient success, and its subsequent failure, are fresh in the minds of our readers; and we need not further allude to these facts, except to say that, in the judgment of men best acquainted with the subject, there is no doubt of the practicability of the scheme, when certain elements of failure, already recognised, are eliminated.

According to Maury, the coating of iron wire coiled around the conductor should be omitted, as serving no good purpose, as immensely increasing the size and weight, and therefore the difficulty of manipulation, as well as the cost, and as throwing a needless strain upon the straight conducting line of copper wires. He would adopt the 'Rogers cord,' which consists of a conducting-wire braided, whipcord fashion, with bobbin or twine, after insulation, and then protected with a cement, which shields the gutta percha from injury; the whole cord being so slender and easily handled that a single ship may carry

the whole, and 'pay' it out as she proceeds. The weight of the Rogers cord is so slight, as to carry it down at the rate of a mile or two per hour; it is not stouter than the ordinary log-line, so that it can be readily paid out. The amount of 'slack' required to feed the currents is not nearly so great as is generally supposed, because the set of the Gulf Stream lies so nearly parallel with the course of the wire, that for a great part of the way the current would scarcely throw the cable out of its proper line. Supposing, however, a current of two knots an hour, for the entire distance, and its course to be at right angles to the cable, the cord, being paid out with ten per cent. of slack, will sink at the rate of two miles an hour; the current may be granted to extend to the maximum depth of half a mile; any given part of the cord, therefore, as it goes out, occupies a quarter of an hour in sinking through this distance. During this interval alone is it subject to the current, which sweeps it half a mile to the left of the ship's course, going eastward; after which it sinks perpendicularly through the still water, till it reaches the bottom.

The result would be, not a sinuous but nearly a straight course, only running uniformly half a mile to the left of the track of the ship.

But what proof is there of the existence of such a stratum of still water at the bottom? A beautiful and convincing proof, derived from the organisms that have been brought up from this very plateau by Brooke's sounding apparatus—its first trophies. The naval officer who made the casts, removed from the cup of the rod a little column of what he judged to be a smooth unctuous clay. This, according to his instructions, he carefully labelled and preserved, and on his return to port transmitted the specimens to the proper board. They were immediately sent for examination to eminent microscopists in Europe and in the United States, and proved to be of great interest. The whole of the little packets of supposed *clay* were found to be actually composed of minute shells of microscopic animals, not a particle of sand or gravel or mud being discoverable among them. The great majority of these shells were of a calcareous nature, and belonged to that group of lowly animals known as *Foraminifera*. There were, however, among them a few siliceous shells of those disputed organisms which are so keenly occupying the attention of microscopic savans,—the *Diatomacea*. These exquisitely formed shells consist of films of lime and flint, so delicate that a very little abrasion, a very slight degree of violence, is sufficient to break them up into minute fragments; yet the specimens were almost uniformly perfect. The inference

is then irresistible, that on that quiet floor the countless generations of little shells lie as they fall, gently dropping, like the soft flakes of snow on a calm winter's day, through an atmosphere of water whose density no motion agitates, where there is not current enough to rub their tender forms one against the other, nor to sweep among their millions a grain of the finest sand, or the least atom of gravel from the steep sides of the Grand Bank, that rises like a vast mountain of rock from the very edge of the plateau.

Professor Bailey, who examined these deposits, assumes that these countless hosts of animalcules did not die, much less live, on the spot where they are found. It is probable that at that vast depth total darkness reigns perpetually, no ray of light from the sun having power to struggle through a layer of water two miles in thickness. Could they bear this privation? It is scarcely supposable that their tender tissues could sustain the pressure of so great a column of water, equal to the weight of four hundred atmospheres. In all probability they lived near the surface, perhaps finding their range of motion and their support in the immense fields of floating weed,—the *Sargassum*,—that cover the area of the Gulf Stream,—that wondrous mighty river of warm water that pursues its unerring track through the broad Atlantic, as steadily, and within as well-defined bounds, as the Thames through the plains of Middlesex, or the Amazon through the forests of Brazil. Here, on the countless stems and leaves and vesicles of the yellow weed, amidst a vast profusion of other animal life, they probably sported, enjoying the genial influences of tropical light and heat, and carrying with them, in the warm surface-waters of the Gulf, the same favourable conditions of existence, long after the swiftly speeding stream had carried them beyond the tropical latitudes.

But, day by day, hour by hour, ten thousand times ten thousand of the tiny population—populous beyond all parallels drawn from the dense crowds of London or the teeming millions of China—were dying; and as they died, they slowly fell from the floating weed, and, partially sustained awhile by the gases formed in their decomposing tissues, during which the superficial currents might softly waft them many a league, they at length reached the distant bottom. Then gently dropping, perhaps on some huge anchor, or water-logged hull, their never-ceasing accumulations would gradually hide the mass under a fleecy covering, 'presenting the rounded appearance which is seen over the body of the traveller who has perished in the snow-storm.'*

* Maury.

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Other specimens have since then been obtained from other seas. From the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, the vicinity of Kamtchatka, Behring's Straits, and the region south-east of Papua, the ocean-bottom has yielded samples. From this last locality, at a depth of thirteen thousand feet, the remains of abundant animalcules come; but they are of a different class from those which occupy the North Atlantic, the calcareous *Foraminifera* being almost wanting. Instead of these there occur the strange shells of *Polycystina*, and some *Diatomaceæ*, but principally the flinty spicula of sponges. Various forms of these occur, but mostly of the types which we are familiar with in our native species; long straight needles, fine drawn spindles, glass-headed pins, and three-rayed stars.

This result is interesting. These seas are full of coral-reefs; they are the very metropolis of the corals and madrepores. To these is allotted the duty of separating the lime held in solution by the sea-water, and to the mollusks, whose massive shells swarm on every bank, and form a broad white band or long high-water mark on every beach. These artisans almost monopolize the lime-works of the South Pacific, and leave comparatively little calcareous matter for the chambered and perforated dwellings of the tiny *Foraminifera*. On the other hand, the flint-glass workers find a fair field for their delicate chemistry, and spin their brilliant structures unimpeded. But there seems less of the siliceous than of the calcareous element in the warmer seas, and these operations are there comparatively few.

Here, again, the microscope bears witness to the perfectly uninjured condition of the most part of these very fragile organisms. Some of the shells even retained their soft fleshy parts when subjected to examination. It does not follow as absolutely certain, however, that they were alive when collected at such vast depths. The enormous pressure of the super-incumbent water may have a tendency to prevent, or at least to retard, decomposition; and the bodies, if they, in any cases, sink so rapidly as to reach the great profundities before the soft parts are dissipated, may possibly retain them for an indefinite period. However this may be, it is interesting to find the same testimony to the uninterrupted stillness of the depths of ocean in these antipodean regions, as was recorded in the northern half of the Atlantic; and especially when, as was the case, results exactly similar were yielded by the casts obtained from the icy seas of Kamtchatka and Behring's Straits. Here, too, the deposits are wholly siliceous, and are principally rich in the remains of the *Diatomaceæ*.

While these results were being obtained with the newly-invented sounding apparatus of Brooke, H.M.S. 'Herald' was engaged on a surveying cruise in the Pacific; and her surgeon, Mr. Macdonald, an accomplished naturalist, was pursuing similar investigations of the deep-sea bottom. He found the *Foraminifera* in very considerable abundance in the vicinity of the Fiji Islands, at a depth of upwards of six thousand feet; and, what is a fact of great interest in connexion with these vast burial-grounds, he observed considerable numbers of the living animalcules adhering to the fronds of the smaller marine Algae, either floating on the surface of the ocean, or growing on the shores of the Pacific Islands; so that the abundant appearance of the dead shells of these tiny animals in the sand of every beach, and in every sea-bottom fathomed by the armed lead, was satisfactorily accounted for. How inconceivably numerous these remains of animal life really are in the sands of the shore, may be estimated from the fact, in addition to that already mentioned, that in some beach-sands upwards of half of the entire bulk is composed of these microscopic shells. Plancus counted six thousand in an ounce of sand from the Adriatic, and D'Orbigny estimated the number in a pound of sand from the Caribbean Sea at no less than 3,849,000,—nearly four millions of individual animals!

Macdonald observes, that the spicula of Sponges and Asteroid Polypes, and the minute embryonic shells of *Gastropoda*, *Pteropoda*, and *Conchifera*, are usually found with the *Foraminifera* in the soundings which he has examined. The pelagic shells, or those which during life rove freely through the sea, descend into the profound recesses after death by their own gravitation; but the others are washed off from every coast and reef; millions of organic and almost indestructible forms thus combining every day and hour to enrich the dark and solitary bed of the ocean, and to smoothen its rugged surface. The muddy bottom of the sea outside the Capes of Port Jackson is nearly altogether composed of such materials, as is that which fringes a considerable portion of the coast of North America, and other vast regions.

A few particulars of the life-history of these atoms, which play a part so important in the physical economy of the earth, may not be unacceptable to our readers. The older conchologists were acquainted with a few shells of microscopic minuteness, some of which closely resembled in form that of the Nautilus, and, like it, were found to be divided into successive chambers. For a long time these tiny forms were considered as Mollusca, and belonging to that highest type of structure, which includes

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the Nautilus and other Cuttles, instead of taking their rank, as they are now known to do, among the very simplest developments of animal existence. The chambers communicating by several apertures, they were named *Foraminifera*; and that appellation is now found to have a further appropriateness, from the curious fact that their shells, which are exclusively formed of lime, are perforated with minute orifices, often so numerous and approximate as to impart a sieve-like character to the structure.

About a quarter of a century ago, however, M. Dujardin announced the true condition of these little creatures. Their soft parts consist of a homogeneous jelly or glaire, without any distinction of organs, which fills the chambers with its clear transparent colourless pulp, and is endowed with the power of pushing out irregular prolongations of its own substance in every direction, and from every part of its surface. These prolongations take the forms of expanded films of excessive tenuity, or lengthened threads of a viscid semi-fluid, which coalesce and unite with contact, or are separated and drawn out in so great an irregularity as to show that they are not enclosed in any skin or membrane. The extensions often reach to a length thrice or four times that of the shell, and may be seen and watched in an interesting manner, when the living *Foraminifer* is placed in a drop of water within the glasses of an animalcule-cell of the microscope, and allowed to remain a few hours perfectly undisturbed. We see the *pseudopodia*, as these projections are called, protruding their tips from various surface-apertures of the shell, and then gradually—so gradually that the eye cannot recognise the process—stretching and expanding their threads and films of delicate *sarcode*, till in the course of a few hours these will be found to reach almost from side to side of the glass cell. The extension is generally in two opposite directions, corresponding to the long axis of the shell; though the branched and variously connected films often diverge considerably to either side of this line, giving to the whole a more or less fan-like figure. This array, so very deliberately put forth, is very rapidly withdrawn on any disturbance being given to the little operator; as when the water in the cell is agitated by a sudden jar on the table, and especially by slightly moving or turning the glass cell-cover.

It is manifest from distinct, though small, changes of position in the shell, while these elongations are going on under observation, that it is by means of the adhesion to extraneous objects, and the consequent contraction of the *pseudopodia*, that the animal drags its shell along a fixed body. It is remarkable,

however, that Mr. Macdonald finds the *Foraminifera* in the Pacific, in general, attached to sea-weeds, and other foreign bodies, by a short, thick footstalk, somewhat resembling that of the *Lepas*, and so precluded from the possibility of locomotion. With his very extensive opportunities of observation on the living forms in the South Sea, he professes to have 'never been able to discover their branched *pseudopodia*, or the slightest evidence of the crawling movement which they are reputed to exhibit.' In those of the European seas, however, these powers have been seen by too many accurate observers, to leave the slightest doubt of the facts. We have kept some of the more familiar British forms in aquaria for months, and have seen them crawling every day (especially by night) over all parts of the vessel and its contained sea-weeds. It may be, that Mr. Macdonald, pursuing his researches on ship-board, was not able to afford his specimens the continuance of absolute stillness, which is essentially indispensable to their activity.

The sustenance of these simple bodies is secured by the enveloping and adhering powers of the *sarcode*. The *pseudopodia* are food-gatherers as well as instruments of locomotion. They explore the vicinity of the animal, feeling about in all directions; any animalcule, or simple plant, more minute than themselves,—any stray Diatom, or Desmid, or Alga, or Infusorium, or embryo Mollusk, or Sponge-gemmule, or any particle of decomposing organic matter, touched, is instantly entangled and laid hold of by these viscous hands: the sarcode envelopes and covers it, and then, contracting, draws it into the interior, where it may sometimes be followed by the eye, through the transparency of the shell. There is no mouth, no stomach, no digestive canal; but the homogeneous jelly appears to have the power of assimilating the nutrient juices of the food in any and every part alike; and hence it is of no consequence what part of the surface is brought into contact with the food,—it is *there* embraced, and, as one may say, swallowed, and there digested; so that any part of the simple glairy body may become a temporary mouth or an improvised stomach. Generally, the residuary portion of the food-pellet is slowly pushed out and rejected at the nearest point of the surface, but not always; for these exuviae sometimes accumulate in considerable numbers, so as even to choke up a large part of the cavity of the shell.

Nearly two thousand species of these little creatures have been distinguished, and they are doubtless much more numerous than this; *all* are not microscopic, some of the oceanic species being of the size of a shilling, and some even as large as a crown-piece. There is great diversity of form in the shells: some are straight

or curved rods; some conical; some have the shape of elegant vases or bottles; some are orbicular, many discoïd, and the majority spiral. The shell appears to be invariably simple in its first stage, being deposited around a primal nodule of sarcode; this is the first chamber: buds develop themselves in succession from this, each of which deposits its calcareous chamber: thus successive chambers are formed. If these buddings take place in a right line, the mature shell will be rod-like, or necklace-like; but if the axis of development incline slightly to one side, a curved rod, or row of beads, will result; if this inclination be in excess, a spiral growth will be formed, the character of which will be modified by the ratio of increase of the successive chambers, and by their ventricose or parallel-sided form. A very prevalent type in the Pacific is that of the *Orbitulites*, which very much resembles a coin in its circularity, flatness, and comparative thickness; and a species from the Australian coast equals a sixpence in size. This pretty shell is made up of a number of thin concentric circles, each of which is composed of many flattened chambers, communicating by minute orifices with those of its own range, and also of the ranges within and without it. In this type, the central or primal cell is comparatively large, of pear-like form, and is almost surrounded by a secondary chamber, which is far larger than any of the rest.

Very closely allied to the *Foraminifera*, are the *Polycystina*,—shell-bearing animals, of even more extreme minuteness,—which have been only recently made known, but which are found to exist, in considerable abundance, in the oceanic deposits, and to be still more numerous in certain geological formations. They have been recognised by Ehrenberg in the chalks and marls of the Mediterranean coasts,—as Sicily, Greece, and North Africa,—and in the diatomaceous deposits of Bermuda and Virginia; and in the island of Barbadoes, the rock of a very extensive district has been found by the great Prussian microscopist to be almost entirely composed of Polycystine shells, with a slight admixture of *Foraminifera* and *Diatomaceæ*, and with calcareous earth, which seems to have been derived from the decomposition of corals,—all oceanic organisms. Some three hundred species of *Polycystina* have been detected in the Barbadoes strata, chiefly by the investigations of Sir R. Schomburgk. The class differs from the *Foraminifera*, in the circumstance that the shells are siliceous instead of calcareous; their forms are even more bizarre, and often possess remarkable elegance and beauty. A prevailing type of form is a sort of dome or cupola, with an apical prolongation of spine, and terminating in three equidistant spines below; their walls beautifully fenestrated with large

angular or circular perforations, and, both externally and internally, exquisitely sculptured, so that they have been compared with 'the finest specimens of the hollow ivory balls carved by the Chinese.'

According to Professor Johann Müller, who has pursued some investigations on the living *Polycystina* of the Mediterranean, the sarcode is of an olive colour, which forms pseudopodia, that project through the fenestral apertures, but which, in a retracted state, occupies only the upper vault of the dome, and is regularly divided into four lobes. This is, at least, the case with some species; but observations on the trans-European types are still very deficient. These animals seem almost as widely diffused as the *Foraminifera*, but, from their far greater minuteness, they have not been so generally recognised.

Important as are the two classes of microscopic beings of which we have been speaking, from their vast numbers, and the office assigned to them in effecting physical changes in the crust of the globe, far more inconceivably numerous are the hosts of the *Diatomaceæ*, and far more momentous are the operations they perform and the influences they exert, both on the world and its inhabitants. To those of our readers—a very considerable class, we doubt not—to whom a *Diatom* is but a Greek compound, we may be permitted briefly to explain the more obvious characters and attributes that distinguish this universally distributed, but yet recondite, tribe of organic entities.

By the general consent of microscopical science, the *Diatomaceæ* are plants, each composed of a single cell, invested with a coat or shell of pure silex (flint), endowed with spontaneous motion, and mostly found in aggregation of many individuals, so attached in regular series as to form chains, more or less readily separable. The endochrome, or vegetable pulp, which in most plants is of a green hue, is always in this class of a golden-brown or yellow, and its particles have occasionally a sort of circulating movement within the cell.

The shell, or frustule, has a fixed form and dimension in each species, though these are subject to very great diversity in different species. Its shape is often extremely elegant, and its glassy surface is exquisitely sculptured into pittings or prominences, which are arranged in the most elaborately varied and beautiful symmetrical patterns.

Perhaps the most ready mode of conceiving of these creatures by one who has never viewed them with the microscope, will be to take a low pill-box of card, and suppose it to be made of flint glass, delicately sculptured, and reduced to an invisible minuteness. Suppose the granules of the yellow endochrome to be

enclosed in this box, surrounding a central mass called the nucleus, which seems to be the very heart, or soul, or life-point of the tiny organism. The cover and bottom disks, called *valves*, are very easily separable from the hoop that unites them (a parallelism that too often obtains in their cardboard representative); and so these single valves are often found alone.

The name *Diatoma*, which, originally given to a single genus, has been applied to the whole order, has reference to the readiness with which the strings or chains in which most of the forms are aggregated, may be separated, looking as if divided by a sharp cut, either partially or wholly. And this depends on their mode of multiplication. For the law by which these atoms increase is highly curious. The pill-box-like frustule becomes deeper by the widening of the hoop, thus pushing the valves further from each other; then across the middle two membranes form, which, by and by, by the deposition of flinty matter, become glassy valves, corresponding to the two outer valves; and then the whole frustule separates between these two new valves, and form two frustules. The old hoop (in some cases at least) falls off, or allows the hoops of the new-made frustules to slip out of it, like the inner tubes out of a telescope.

Now the separation of the frustules thus made is not always so complete, but that they may remain adherent to one another by some point of contact; and hence arises a most singular and interesting appearance often presented by these bodies. Let us suppose that the original frustule was of the shape of a brick, and that, by successive acts of self-division, it has formed itself into a number, say a dozen, of bricks. These of course are laid one on another, forming a pile; but all the individuals adhere to one another by a minute point at one corner, and the matter of adhesion is sufficiently tenacious and sufficiently yielding to allow of the brick-shaped frustules moving freely apart in every point except just the connecting angle. It is not the *same* corner that adheres all up the pile, more frequently *opposite* corners alternate with each other, yet not very regularly; and thus an angularly jointed chain of the little bodies is formed, which is very characteristic. In some species, in which the form is a lengthened oblong, the frustules have the faculty of sliding partially over each other; and thus the chain takes the form of a series of steps, of which the length is much greater than the width or height.

Some of the forms have the frustule seated at the end of a long and slender footstalk,—a thread of spun glass, on whose elastic summit they wave and dance with every movement of the waters. The self-division of the frustules here frequently

extends to the stalk; and so we find beautiful little fan-like tufts or shrubs, all educed by this imperfect multiplication. In almost all other cases the atoms possess the power of spontaneous movement to some extent. Often this takes place by a series of intermittent jerks, which carry the Diatom onward in a given direction for a while, and then suddenly ceasing yield to similar motions in an opposite direction, by which the progress made is reversed. In some cases, as in the genus *Bacillaria*, which we have just compared to a column of bricks sliding one over the other, this movement of sliding goes on till the frustules are on the point of separating, which then retrace their course till such a catastrophe seems equally imminent in the opposite direction.

It is generally considered that no power of choice, no real volition is manifested by these motions, which are asserted to be merely mechanical, and not produced by any motile organs, properly so called. But Dr. G. C. Wallich has recently published some elaborate researches made upon the free-swimming *Diatomaceæ* of the South Atlantic, which lead to a different conclusion. He has shown that particles of extraneous matter lying in the path of a moving Diatom are occasionally pushed forward by it, or, if behind, taken in tow, and dragged after it; the object in neither case being in contact with the frustule, but considerably distant from it. The object in tow accurately exhibits and repeats every jerk, progression, or pause of the 'tug,' and at times is even drawn up to it, it may be, from an oblique position, and is then either released or carried along with it, adhering to one of its surfaces. And these and similar phenomena occur simultaneously with several remote and independent particles of matter.

These phenomena (for the details of which we must refer our readers to Dr. Wallich's own admirable memoir*) are quite inexplicable on the hypothesis of exosmotic and endosmotic action, to which the motions of the *Diatomaceæ* had been referred by the best previous authorities. To explain them consistently, we are irresistibly led to infer the existence of numerous long prehensile filaments, capable of protrusion, of extension and retraction, of extreme tenuity, yet of extraordinary strength and elasticity, in virtue of which both the ordinary to-and-fro movements, and the secondary motions affecting surrounding bodies, are performed. It is true, no trace of such filaments can be detected with the highest powers of magnification yet brought to bear on them; but the inference of their existence from the phenomena recorded seems unavoidable, or, in other words, the phenomena are inexplicable on any other hypothesis.

* *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* for January, 1860, p. 15, et seq.

To us it appears that the whole of these observations, though they do not settle the point of the position of these organisms, do add a considerable weight to the opinions of those naturalists who refer the *Diatomaceæ* to the animal rather than the vegetable kingdom; the presumed retractile and extensile processes bearing a very distinct analogy to the *pseudopodia* of the *Foraminifera*, and to the whip-like filaments of many *Infusoria*, while their parallelism to any organs known to exist in plants is much more vague and remote.

We may leave this question to be settled by others. The decision will not affect the wondrousness of the facts connected with the economy of these almost inappreciably minute beings, that they, far more than other created beings that we are cognisant of,—incomparably more than the lions and tigers, the bulls and behemoths, the rhinoceroses and elephants, the cachalots and whales, far more than even busy man himself,—are the master-builders to whose unceasing agency God has committed the task of manufacturing, of augmenting, and of variously modelling this immense *κόσμος* of our present residence. Inhabiting all waters, and swarming in rivers, estuaries, and lakes to such an extent, that their siliceous shells, by constant deposition, block up old harbours, narrow and spoil navigable channels, and form enormous beds and strata of earth,—it is yet in the high seas that these innumerable artisans have their great workshop; it is in the ocean, boundless and fathomless, that the grandest processes are going on of their stupendous handiwork.

Far up in the frozen north, and where the mighty barrier of eternal ice forbids the approach of man to the antarctic pole, the tiny Diatoms are building their Cyclopean masonry, and laughing to scorn the castings of our mightiest furnaces, and the forgings of our Nasmyth hammers. Sir James Ross found the surface of the Southern Sea bordering that ice-barrier thick with a brown scum, which consisted almost exclusively of living *Diatomaceæ*; and Dr. Joseph Hooker remarked that they were rendered peculiarly conspicuous by their becoming enclosed in the newly formed ice, and by being washed up in myriads by the sea on the pack and bergs, everywhere staining the white ice and snow with their own ochreous brown hue. A deposit of mud, consisting mainly of the flint shells of these beings, extending not less than four hundred miles in length and a hundred and twenty in breadth, was found at a depth of from two hundred to four hundred feet, on the flanks of Victoria Land, in 78° south latitude. The depth and thickness of this deposit could not be conjectured; nor do we know anything of the rate at which it

increases; but observations in future ages may determine this from now known data, and an estimate may then be formed of the scale on which these laborious operators turn out their work.

Every frustule of the *Diatomaceæ* adds its quota to the solid structure of the globe, and that whatever the destiny of the living being. It is not only those which die what a jury of Diatoms might call a natural death, not only those that fall quietly to rest in their bed,—the mighty quiet bed of the ocean,—that are adding their shells to the globe-crust: those incalculable millions of millions that form the sustenance of millions of hungry and predatory animals, all come to the same end at last; for the siliceous structure of their frustules is unalterable and indestructible. And here we obtain a glimpse of the exceeding wonderful economy of creation; we see with adoring admiration how strangely wise and well-arranged are His plans,—the Lord of Hosts, who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working.

Guano, that potent manure which has so increased our crops, consists, as everybody knows, of the dung of sea-birds. For ages before the discovery of America the careful Peruvians had collected it, and employed it in their fields and gardens. It was guarded by rules of the most rigid economy. Laws, sanctioned by the punishment of death, forbade the killing of the young birds. The guano islands were all enrolled; each was put under the care of a government inspector, and assigned to a certain province. The whole tract of country between Arica and Chancay, a distance of two hundred and forty miles, was exclusively manured with guano; and to a certain extent these traditional customs are still maintained in Peruvian agriculture.

To turn to European consumption, we find the results not less important. From one island alone, a stratum of guano, thirty feet in thickness, and covering an area of 220,000 square feet, has been entirely removed within twenty-seven years. In one single year, (1854,) the enormous amount of 250,000 tons of this accumulated excrement was dug in the Chincha Isles, and the actual annual exportation doubles that quantity. Thus, the dung of wild ocean birds yields a larger revenue to the Peruvian exchequer than all the silver mines of Cerro de Pasco, and its transport occupies greater fleets than ever Spain possessed at the proudest height of her maritime ascendancy.

Now *Diatomaceæ* form a very considerable per-centage of the entire bulk of this substance, the value of which is augmented in proportion to the abundance of these microscopic organisms. Great masses may often be found wholly composed of the aggregated frustules of Diatoms. How are these procured in such vast supply? It has been by some supposed that the

birds, or that fishes on which they subsist, feed *directly* on them. But this is manifestly untrue, as Dr. Wallich shows, since, with one or two rare exceptions, no Diatomaceous frustules are sufficiently large to be appreciable by any bird's eye. Nor could any vertebrate animal we are acquainted with, by any possibility, gather together, within a reasonable period, a sufficient supply of such infinitesimally minute nutriment as these organisms afford, even supposing the optical difficulty to be overcome. Nor could any prehensile or masticatory apparatus deal with it, if taken into the mouth: it must be swallowed *en masse*.

But the intervention of swarming hosts of invertebrate animals solves the difficulty. It is well known that the vast tribes of bivalve *Mollusca* are supported almost wholly on these and similar entities; which are taken, without any craft, or violence, or pursuit, or even selection, by the mere action of ciliary currents bringing the floating organisms to the gaping stomach. There are, moreover, lower forms than these, but of kindred structure and appetites, as the *Tunicate Mollusca*, which devour immense multitudes of microscopic creatures; and these tribes are numerous and varied. Some of these are free rovers in the ocean, as the *Salpadæ*, and these occur in hosts only less wonderful than the Diatoms themselves.

Dr. Wallich speaks from his own experience, confirmed, however, by many other observers, when he says, that between the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, for *many degrees* of latitude, the ship passed through vast layers of sea water so thronged with the bodies of a species of *Salpa* as to present the consistence of a jelly. These layers extended for several miles in length. Their vertical depth it was impossible to ascertain, owing to the motion of the ship. They appeared, however, to extend deep; and in all probability were of a similar character to the immense aggregations of close-packed swimming invertebrata so well known to mariners in Arctic regions under the appellation of 'whale-food.' Each of these *Salpæ* measured about half an inch in length; but so close was their accumulation, that of the quantity collected by a sudden plunge of an iron-rimmed towing-net, *half the cubic contents*, after the water had drained off, generally consisted of nothing but one thick gelatinous pulp.

The stomach in these translucent and generally colourless creatures forms a minute, opaque, yellow ball, which, being opened, is found to be filled with *Foraminifera* and *Diatomacææ*, from which latter it derives its colour. A very large species of *Salpa*, measuring some six or seven inches in length, is found in the equatorial regions of the Atlantic, whose proportionally larger digestive cavities are filled with *Rhizoselenia*, a tubular

form of Diatom occurring in vast profusion there. 'The alimentary matter of the *Salpæ*,' observes Mr. Macdonald, 'is composed of animal and vegetable* elements in nearly equal proportions; and when the microscope reveals the calcareous shells of *Foraminifera*, the beautifully sculptured frustules of *Diatomaceæ*, keen siliceous needles [of Sponges], and the sharp armature of minute *Crustacea*, within an intestinal tube so tender and friable that it withers at the human touch,—one cannot help admiring the operation of those conservative properties with which its delicate tissues are endowed. Each atom yields to acute impression as by an instinctive intelligence, evading injurious contact; and although a contractility of the tube is essential to the due performance of its functions, no evil thus befalls its integrity till the term of life is at an end.'

The digestive action of the Mollusk effects no change in the earthy constituents of its food; and thus the calcareous shells, and the siliceous spicula, and frustules, lie uninjured in its stomach, disjointed and broken, perhaps, by trituration, and cleaned of all soluble matter, till they are ejected in the faecal pellet, to be dispersed and carried down individually to the still, and silent, and sombre ocean-floor.

When we consider the immensurable multitudes of these molluscos animals that throng the seas, which feed almost exclusively on the organisms we are speaking of, we shall see how immense a quantity of inorganic matter (yet of organic origin) is every moment being discharged into the sea, and every moment arriving at the bottom. But a very large proportion arrives at the same terminus by other stages, considerably modifying its conditions and ultimate form. The *Salpæ* and similar creatures form the main food of millions of voracious fishes. The shells and frustules of lime and flint contained in the stomachs and intestines of the former are received into those of the latter; and, passing this ordeal uninjured, as well as the other, are in like manner discharged, after digestion, free from their own organic contents, and those by which they were enveloped. But these pelagic fishes are preyed upon by pelagic birds; and the Diatoms and Foraminifers pass into the stomachs of these clamorous sea-fowl, and form the basis of the guano which is ever accumulating on the whitening rocks.

Again, these soft-bodied *Mollusca* constitute the principal sustenance of the giant *Cetacea*. The wallowing whale, or the huge cachalot, drives, with expanded jaws, into such a shoal of close-packed *Salpæ*, as Dr. Wallich describes; then, closing his

* That is, assuming the *Diatomaceæ* to be plants, according to the received doctrine; but *vide supra*.

enormous mouth, he lazily entombs myriads of the soft unresisting prey, and repeats the action till his vast stomach is full,—a great cauldron of living jelly. The jelly soon disappears under the solvent action of the gastric juice, and becomes the seething blood of the leviathan; but the minute shells and frustules still travel unharmed; the heat, the maceration, and the acid, have no power to dissolve *them*, and they at length come forth from *this* ordeal as safe as from any former one.

But it is probable that these siliceous and calcareous atoms do not pass from the intestinal canal of the *Cetacea* in individual isolation. They are individually unchanged in form and structure, but are in all likelihood aggregated and conglomerated into cohering masses, each mass homogeneous in its kind. Siliceous particles, in particular, are known to have a power of cohesion with considerable tenacity under certain conditions; among which pressure, and an animal cement, may be adduced. Professor Bailey, of New York, found some masses of siliceous matter, obtained from Diatomaceous deposits, which he in vain endeavoured to break up by boiling in water and in acids, and by repeated freezing and thawing. At length he boiled the lumps in a strong solution of caustic alkali, under which treatment they rapidly split up, and crumbled to a paste composed of the frustules of *Diatomaceæ*.

Let us suppose, now, a school of whales rioting amidst a vast field of *Salpæ*, which, in their turn, have been pasturing on microscopic Diatoms. Beneath them,—

‘A thousand fathoms down,’—

lies an ocean-floor of soft cretaceous clay, the produce of some coral reef, which has been browsed upon and ground to powder by the molar teeth of myriads of *Scaridæ* and *Labridæ* for ages. From the full-fed whales faecal pellets are constantly dropping, each of which consists of siliceous matter, resolvable, indeed, into frustules of Diatoms, and shells of Polycysts, and spicules of sponges, but now concreted into an irregularly nodulous, compact mass. These fall on the soft, calcareous, pasty bed below, and sink into its impalpable bosom; the white, creamy semifluid closing over each nodule, and burying it from all disturbance. Geologic periods pass; upheavings of the crust roll away the sea into other channels, and the calcareous bed is a thick stratum of chalk,—the white cliffs of the Albion of the day. The pickaxe and the spade go to work, and lo! irregular nodules of flint appear, and *savans* wonder how they came there. The hammer breaks them open, and the lapidary, with his lathe, grinds out a thin section, which the microscopist puts

under his best powers. He finds that spicules of sponges, and valves and fragments of *Diatomaceæ* are abundant, mingled with a host of amorphous particles too greatly comminuted to be referred to any determinate form. Enough is seen, however, to show the organic origin of the flint-masses; and as to the question of their introduction into the chalk, *that* no longer remains a mystery.

Among the organisms found in the cretaceous flint nodules, none have elicited more discussion than certain bodies named *Xanthidia*. These present some diversity in shape, but their general form may be compared to a ball stuck full of pins, each of which has, instead of a head, an extremity split into three or four points, which are hooked downward. Ehrenberg supposed these to be distinct animals, to which he gave specific names; but they are now known to be the *sporangia* (or seed-bearing vessels) of certain microscopic plants, the *Desmidiaceæ*. How these came to be mingled, in the flints, with products exclusively marine, was the wonder, since it was believed that the Desmids were never found except in fresh waters.

Dr. Wallich finds, however, *Xanthidia* among the alimentary contents of pelagic *Salpæ*; with the endochrome so fresh as to make it manifest that they had recently been taken into the stomach; and this far out in the limitless ocean. And even adult *Desmidiaceæ* have been found in the same circumstances; so that the whole difficulty of the association of these sporangia with marine siliceous organisms vanishes by the discovery that this class of plants is also marine.

What beautiful chains of mutually dependent links are presented to us in these investigations! How true is the aphorism that in the works of the all-glorious God, nothing is great, nothing is small: or, rather, the small is great; nay, sometimes, as here, the least is the greatest. Take away the invisible Diatom and Foraminifer from the ocean, and what would be the result? Man would not be cognizant that anything had disappeared; since his experience of six thousand years has left him utterly unconscious, till yesterday, that such things existed. Yet how soon would the tale be told! and how sadly! What blanks would presently be seen! what great rents in the beautiful web of nature! What distortions of the admirable unity! What disturbances of the delicate balance of creation! The 'foundations' of the physical world would be, like those of the moral, 'out of course;' and unless some countervail were quickly applied by the remedial wisdom of Him who is infinite in resources, the whole cosmical system might be hopelessly deranged. The whole race of *Salpæ*, and *Ascidie*, and *Conchiferous Mollusca*

would starve and disappear; entire genera of fishes would be lost; the sea-fowl would starve; the seals and dolphins would perish; the Arctic bear would seek in vain for food; and the great whales would pine and die of hunger. The solitary ocean would be a waste of death; animal life would cease throughout its expanses; the *Algæ* would grow and grow till they had exhausted the carbonic acid, and then die for want of a fresh supply. Putrid exhalations and morbid miasmata would sweep over the land, and death would soon reign undisputed here. What disturbances of existing laws might ensue from the failure of the present incessant depositions of inorganic matter on the sea-bed, we cannot even conjecture, but doubtless these would not be few or unimportant. On the whole, dimly as we discern the catenation of cause and effect, it seems not at all extravagant to presume that all this mundane creation is actually dependent, for its sustentation in being, on the existence, in health and abundance, of an animal and a plant far too small to be seen by the human eye to which it is presented.

Thus we see how one great function of Divine benevolence, 'He openeth His hand and satisfieth the desire of every living thing,' (Psalm cxlv. 16,) is ancillary to another putting forth of might by Him who is our 'God and Kinsman,'—'who upholdeth all things by the word of His power.' (Heb. i. 3.)

At the very moment when this article is about to be dispatched to the press, information has been received from the deep sea which sets all our speculations at defiance, and confounds all our conclusions. *Animal life is actually flourishing under the pressure of a mile and a half of superincumbent water.* H.M.S. 'Bulldog,' under the command of Sir Leopold M'Clintock, has returned from surveying the Northern Atlantic, from Cape Farewell to Labrador, and Dr. Wallich communicates to the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* the following statement, the interest of which will warrant our citing it *in integro*.

'During the recent survey of the proposed North Atlantic Telegraph route between Great Britain and America, conducted on board H.M.S. "Bulldog," some important facts have revealed themselves, from which it would appear that all preconceived notions as to the bathymetrical limits whereby animal life is circumscribed in the sea are more or less erroneous. The mighty ocean contains its hidden animate as well as inanimate treasures; and it is probable that, under proper management, the former may speedily be brought to light, whatever may be the ultimate fate of the latter. In short, we are almost warranted, from the evidence already at our command, in in-

ferring that, although hitherto undetected, a submarine fauna exists along the bed of the sea, and that means and opportunities are alone wanting to render it amenable to the scrutiny of the naturalist.

'In sounding midway between Greenland and the north-west coast of Ireland, at 1260 fathoms—that is, at a mile and a half below the surface, in round numbers—several *Ophiocomæ* were brought up, clinging by their long spinous arms to the last fifty fathoms of line. They were alive, and continued to move their limbs about energetically, for upwards of a quarter of an hour after leaving their native element. The species seems allied to *O. granulata*, (LINK,) the specimens varying from two to five inches across the rays. Lest it be supposed that these *Ophiocomæ* were floating or drifting in the water at any point intermediate between the surface and bottom, it is only necessary to mention, that the determination of depth having been effected by a separate operation and apparatus, the more tedious process of bringing up the sample of bottom is entered on; and, owing to the difficulty of finding out the exact moment at which ground is struck, a considerable quantity of line in excess of the already ascertained depth is usually paid out. This quantity, therefore, rests on the bottom for a short time, until the sounding machine is again hauled up. The *Ophiocomæ* were adherent to this last fifty fathoms only, and were not secured at all by the sounding machine. It is quite clear, therefore, that they were met with on the surface-layer of the deposit. The distance from the nearest point of Greenland to the spot at which this sounding was made, is five hundred miles, and to the nearest point of Iceland (namely, an isolated rock called the "Blinde Skier," about seventy miles from the mainland) two hundred and fifty miles; so that, admitting the possibility of the star-fishes having been drifted by currents, for argument's sake, the character of the fact would be in no way affected. The structure and habits of the Echinoderms generally are too well known, however, to render such a mode of accounting for their presence in the position referred to possible.

'On careful dissection, I found no appreciable anatomical difference between these *Ophiocomæ* and the species frequenting shoal waters. The deposit on which they rested consists of [certain *Foraminifera*, named] *Globigerinæ*, so pure as to constitute ninety-five per cent. of the entire mass. Their occurrence where the *Globigerinæ* are to be met with both in greatest quantity and purity, together with the circumstance that in the stomach of the *Ophiocomæ* the *Globigerinæ* were detected in abundance as alimentary matter, corroborates the evidence I have obtained from other facts as to the normal habitat of the

latter organisms being on the immediate surface-layer of the deeper oceanic deposits, and not in the substance of the super-incumbent waters. At the same time it substantiates the truth of the star-fishes having been captured on their natural feeding ground.

'I also detected, in a sounding made at 1913 fathoms, a number of small tubes, varying in length from one-sixteenth to a quarter of an inch, and about a line in diameter, which, on being viewed under the microscope, turned out to be almost entirely built up of young *Globigerinæ* shells, cemented side by side, just as we find to be the case in the tubular cells of some of the cephalobranchiate Annelids, where sandy or shelly particles are employed in their formation. There can hardly be a doubt, therefore, that some minute creature, probably an Annelid, lives down at this enormous depth, and feeds on the soft parts of the Foraminifera, whilst he houses himself with their calcareous shells. As yet I have been unable to determine the nature of these creatures, but hope to be enabled to succeed on a more lengthened survey of the material in which they occur.

'Lastly, I would mention having met with the minute bodies termed "Coccoliths" by Professor Huxley. They occur in vast numbers, associated with larger cell-like bodies, on the surface of which Coccoliths are arranged at regular intervals, so as to lead to the inference that the latter are in reality given off from the former in some way. The larger cell-bodies, and the Coccoliths on them, are imbedded in a gelatinous envelope. The presence of these organisms in largest quantity in those deposits in which the *Globigerinæ* occur alive in the greatest profusion and utmost state of purity, would also seem indicative of their being a larval condition of the latter.'

As the supposition that the pressure of so great a body of water would preclude the possibility of animal functions being carried on at the bottom of the ocean, is thus found to be a mistake; so it is by no means improbable, that our received theories of absolute darkness at that depth may be equally mythical. Edward Forbes formed an ingenious hypothesis touching the distribution of marine animals in zones of depth, from facts which seemed to prove that positive colour diminished in the shells of the *Mollusca*, in the ratio of their habitual distance from the surface, all colour ceasing at from fifty to one hundred fathoms. It was hence assumed that light was entirely lost by absorption, in passing through such a volume of sea-water. Subsequent researches, however, by Sars, and other Norwegian naturalists, proved the existence of certain Anemones

and corals at a depth of two hundred fathoms; and these are by no means white, as this hypothesis required, but adorned with the most vivid hues. Light, then, must exist, and have a strong colorific power at that depth. Dr. Wallich has not alluded to the colours of his *Ophiocoma*; but as he compares it to *O. granulata*, we may fairly assume that there was no great disparity in hue. Now this species is of vivid colours:—black, brown, orange, roseate, are the tints of the disk; and that of the rays, dusky white, or bluish. Can the colour-producing rays of the sun, then, penetrate through a stratum of water a mile and a half thick? ‘No;’ say the philosophers, ‘absurd!’ ‘Yes;’ says the *Ophiocoma*, ‘*ecce signum!*’

ART. IV.—1. *Tillage a Substitute for Manure: Illustrated by the Principles of Modern Agricultural Science and the Precepts and Practice of Jethro Tull; including an Epitome of Tull's operative Directions in successive unmanured Corn Culture, and the Particulars of Lois Weedon Husbandry, and other Instances of Tull's Method of Farming.* By ALEXANDER BURNETT, M.A., Land Agent, Member of the Royal Agricultural Society, and the Central Farmers' Club, London. London: Whittaker and Co.; Chester: Hugh Roberts.. 1859.

2. *Lois Weedon Husbandry.* Second Edition. ‘By this mode of Husbandry, compared with the ordinary modes, the moiety of an acre yields more than the whole.’—*Hesiod*, free translation. By the Author of ‘*A Word in Season to the Farmer.*’ [By the REV. S. SMITH.] London: J. Ridgway. 1859.

3. *A Word in Season: or, How to grow Wheat with Profit.* By the Author of ‘*Lois Weedon Husbandry.*’ Seventeenth Edition. With large Additions about Tull and Liebig. [By the REV. S. SMITH.] London: J. Ridgway. 1859.

4. *The Horse-hoeing Husbandry: or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation, wherein is taught a Method of introducing a Sort of Vineyard Culture into the Cornfields, in order to increase their Product, and diminish the common Expense.* By JETHRO TULL, of Shalborne, in the County of Berks. 1733. Republished by W. Cobbett in 1829. (Out of print. Copy in British Museum Library.)

‘Who was Jethro Tull? and what was his system of husbandry?’ We fancy we hear a farmer of the old school say: ‘O, he was one of your book-farmers, who could grow corn upon a barn-floor; he was cousin-german to the man that made deal

boards out of sawdust, and hunted after the philosopher's stone. He lived nobody knows how many years ago, and died, they say, as poor as a rat, after spending a fortune in following a Jack-o'-lantern,' &c. Now let us hear what Jethro Tull says of himself, or, rather, of the principle on which he acted in life.

'No canon having limited what we shall think in agriculture, nor condemned any of its tenets for heresy, every man is therein a free thinker, and must think according to the dictates of his own reason, whether he will or not. And such freedom is given, now-a-days, in speculations in natural philosophy, that it is common to see people, even in print, maintain that there are antipodes, and that the earth moves round the sun, and that he doth not set in the sea, without being censured for these, and many other formerly heterodox opinions; and every one may now, upon solid argument contradict Aristotle himself publicly any where, except in the Schools.'

We have put this passage in italics, but it deserves to be printed in letters of gold: because, in the first place, it was written at a period when science and agriculture were both in their infancy; and secondly, because it equally applies, and equally needs to be repeated, in the present day, when both are in their manhood, and at the zenith of their glory and power.

Jethro Tull was, in fact, born a century and a half before his proper time; and the consequence has been, that the principles on which he wrote and acted have had a long intermission of slumber, with the exception of a few snatches of revivification, until the present day, when the light of knowledge has broken in upon the last of our uncivilized tribes, undignified with the title of 'strawyard savages.' In Tull's day, science had made little advancement, and that little had been chiefly confined to a small class of men. Jethro Tull's strong intellect had broken through the trammels with which the agricultural mind of that day was fettered; and having, either by accident or by inductive investigation, discovered what he considered to be the true principles of vegetation and fertility, he at once, in the face of clamour, abuse, and every kind of opprobrium, set to work to carry them out in his practice of farming. In this he persevered until his death in 1741; having, up to that period, grown thirteen consecutive crops of wheat on the same field without manure, without diminution of produce, and without deterioration of soil or quality of grain. His experiments, too, may be said to have been conducted upon a rather large scale; for they embraced 120 acres of land.

The principle on which the Tullian system rests is this, that the atmosphere alone contains all the elements of fertility necessary for the support and maturation of vegetables; and that nothing is

wanted to insure and promote their beneficial absorption by the soil, and assimilation by the plants, but rest, with incessant tillage and comminution. Tull therefore adopted a plan of his own, by which he secured both these objects without losing a crop. It was as follows:—A field having been well tilled during a 'bare fallow,' and thrown into ridges of six feet, or of four feet eight inches each, according to his ultimate practice, he drilled along the centre of the ridge from one to four equidistant rows of wheat, according as experience led him, from year to year, to vary the number; and thus each set of rows was flanked, right and left, by an unseeded space, bounded exteriorly by the 'bared balk.'*

We thus find that half the land was left unsown; and have now to explain the treatment these spaces received during the growth of the crops by their sides.

'First, by virtue of spring and summer horse-hoe workings in these, conjointly with hand-hoeing in the rows, the extermination of every kind of foul vegetation was attained. Secondly, the soil composing them became, by means of that continuous tillage, a highly fertilized source, from which, in addition to the sustenance yielded by the mould of the rows, the growing plants were able to draw more and more nutrition, the more and more their increasing bulk demanded it. And, thirdly, these uncropped spaces ultimately became, by that operation of the plough termed *feering*,† the seed-beds (accumulated in the bared balks) of the next ensuing crop.'—*Tillage and Manure*, p. 105.

It will be observed that Tull used the plough in his system of tillage. We therefore next refer to the practice of the Rev. Samuel Smith of Lois Weedon, who has adopted the alternate cropping and fallowing of Tull, but substituting the spade and fork for the plough. Another difference, too, in their practice must be noticed. Tull carefully avoided raising any part of the subsoil to the surface, confining his tillage to the staple soil, which probably was not more than five inches. Smith, on the contrary, using the spade or fork, turns up a portion of the fresh subsoil every year; so that his land, after a few years, becomes thoroughly subsoiled. The land being thus prepared, his after operation is as follows. Three rows of wheat are drilled or dibbled at from ten to twelve inches‡ between them. An equal space of ground is then left vacant or unsown, to be treated as

* *Tillage and Manure*, p. 105.

† *Feering*. This should have been rendered *veering*. Tull explains in a note, that it is a technical term of the ploughmen, signifying turning two furrows towards each other, as they must do to begin a ridge. It is taken from the seamen, and means, 'to turn.'

‡ Tull, after many years' experience, adopted ten inches between the rows as the most profitable, and planted, at times, only two rows on a ridge.

we shall presently describe. Then another three rows of wheat are planted, and another space left vacant; and so on until the whole field is gone over, and half of it planted; no manure whatever having been used or applied in any one year throughout the thirteen years that Mr. Smith has practised the system.

During the growth of the crop the void intervals are, from time to time, kept open by the spade and fork, whilst the rows of corn are well cleared and stirred by the horse hoe, so as both to destroy all weeds, and open the soil for the influences of the atmosphere. In this respect the practice of Tull and his imitators is similar, both considering it necessary to keep the soil open. Towards harvest, when the wheat has attained its full stature, a furrow is turned by the plough, so as to fall against the outside rows on each side; this is done to strengthen the straw, and prevent its being lodged by the wind or rain. By the above treatment, Tull, and those who copied him, have found that by successive cropping with wheat the soil has received no deterioration. On the contrary, the produce has increased by the superior condition and cleanliness of the land, which, on this system, receives a fallow every other year.

We have said that Tull was born a century and a half before his time. This was true in more senses than one; for, not only was agriculture at a very low ebb, but science itself could scarcely be said to be born. The elements of fertility which, as Tull suspected, and ultimately became convinced, were supplied by the atmosphere, had never been identified, because the *then* mysterious fluid itself had not been analysed. The gases of which it is composed were not discovered till some years after his death, when Priestley unravelled the mystery, and determined by his ingenious investigations the component parts of that æriform combination of vapours, by which all life, animal and vegetable, is sustained. In this respect, Tull laboured under a manifest disadvantage, being ignorant of the precise nature of those substances which, as his inductive observation had enabled him to perceive, could have no other origin than the atmosphere. In combating, therefore, his opponents, he could only point to the results of his practice, without giving a definite explanation of the elements by which they were produced.

It will be seen by the title of Mr. Burnett's work, that its object is to place before the public the theoretic principles of the Tullian system, illustrated by the practice of several cultivators, who have from time to time wholly or in part adopted it. The two works of Mr. Smith are details of actual practice on the system, and contain an ample and satisfactory account of the results. Mr. Burnett thus explains his object in the preface:—

'In no aspect of the grain trade, and most assuredly not in its present one, can it ever be irrelevant to inquire whether Tullian corn-culture would or would not be more profitable than a continuance in the present method of cereal husbandry; and accordingly, the design of the present little work is, 1st. To relate the history, from Tull's time downwards, of this unmanured and unintermittent mode of corn husbandry. 2nd. To explain the entire accordance of that mode with the physical laws of culture; and 3rd. To set forth in methodized and concentrated form Tull's own directions for its operative performance. This done, the practical man is left to draw his own conclusions, whether the facts and principles involved in the narrative do not point to the expediency of a considerable measure of reform in the present routine management of the tillage farm.'—*Preface*, p. 4.

Tull's history is in some respects a melancholy one. Possessing by inheritance two small estates, one in Oxfordshire, the other in the hilly district of Berkshire, on the borders of Wiltshire; he studied for the Bar at Oxford, and had entered upon his forensic course, when chronic disease of the most acute kind led him to relinquish it. Being of an active turn, he could not remain idle; and, about the year 1701, took the Oxon farm into his own hands. The first indication of his inventive genius was the construction of a drilling, or, as he called it, a "drill sowing machine," the first ever made;* so that he may justly be called the father or founder of a machine which has now become an essential implement on every moderate-sized farm. It is a curious fact, that he borrowed the idea of this drill from the construction of an organ, with which he was wont to amuse himself in his youthful days.

His first discovery, however, was the uselessness of sowing so much seed as was sown at that period. The land he farmed being adapted to *sain-foin*,† he resolved to plant his whole farm with it. Seven bushels of seed per acre was the usual quantity; but he observed, that where the crop was best, there was not more than *one plant to the square foot*; while the quantity usually sown allowed one hundred and forty seeds to each square foot. He therefore employed persons to make 'channels,' or drills, and sow in them a small quantity of seed at an equal depth. By this plan, he saved three-fourths of the expense of

* This is the general opinion, and Cobbett has confirmed it. But the writer has in his possession a work by an anonymous author, published in 1675, in which is the print of a drill invented by the author. This was twenty-five years before Tull began to farm. It is possible, however, that Tull had not heard of it.

† 'Saint Foin':—thus in Tull's work; but the true word is *sainfoin*, being a combination of two French words, *i. e.* *sain*, healthy, and *foin*, fodder. This gives a rational meaning to the word, whilst *sainfoin*, or 'holy fodder,' implies a ludicrous canonization of a vegetable production.—See *Webster's Dictionary*, *Sainfoin*; also *Spiers' French and English Dictionary*.

seed, while the ground was more regularly planted. Finding, however, that he could not trust to his men, who appear to have conspired to thwart and vex him, he invented his drill, which was an imitation of the groove, tongue, and spring, in the sound board of an organ. 'It planted that farm much better than hands could have done, and many hundred acres besides; and thirty years' experience shows, that saint foin thus planted brings better crops and lasteth longer than sown saint foin.'

Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for agriculture, Tull was compelled, about the year 1711 or 1712, to retire to the south of France on account of ill health. With a mind as active as ever, he employed himself in examining the systems of husbandry practised there and in Italy, where he also travelled. From the observations he made, he deduced three propositions in agriculture:—

'First. That interculture amongst the growing crops is a necessary operation in well-conducted farming.

'Secondly. That adequate tillage is not only an economical substitute for manure, but that,

'Thirdly. Thorough tillage is also competent, with or without the aid of manure, to secure the profitable growth of any given species of cultivated plant year after year in succession.'—*Tillage and Manure*, page 23.

The inductive reasoning by which Tull arrived at this novel conclusion, was as follows;—

'The vines of low vineyards,' (*i. e.*, vineyards where the plants are kept by pruning in the condition of low shrubs,) 'hoed by the plough, have their heads just above the ground, standing all in a most regular order; and are constantly ploughed in the proper seasons. These have no other assistance but by hoeing, because their heads and roots are so near together, that dung would spoil the taste of the wine they produce in hot countries.

'From these I took my vineyard scheme; observing that indifferent land produces an annual crop of grapes and wood, without dung; and, though there is annually carried off from an acre of vineyard as much in substance as is carried off in the crop of an acre of corn produced on land of equal goodness, yet the vineyard soil is never impoverished, unless the hoeing culture be denied it; but a few annual crops of wheat, without dung, in the common management, will impoverish and emaciate the soil.

'I cannot find, either in theory or practice, any other good reason for this difference, except that the vineyard soil is more pulverized by hoeing.

'The soil of the vineyard can never have a true summer fallow, though it has much summer hoeing: for the vines live in it, and all over it, all the year: neither can that soil have benefit from dung,

because, although by increasing the pulverization it increases the crop, yet it spoils the taste of the wine. The exhaustion of that soil is therefore supplied by no artificial help but hoeing; and by all the experience I have had of it, the same cause will have the same effect upon a soil for the production of corn.'—Page 24.

We have given this passage at length, because it exhibits the first conception of a great principle, which, after lying almost dormant for nearly a century and a half, is likely to upset all our modern ideas of husbandry, and reduce the culture of cereal crops to the most simple and primitive code of rules. If, as is the case, ground may be occupied for centuries by a vineyard without diminution or deterioration of crops, although no manure is used, or any other means of restoration of the fertility to the soil except tillage, or opening the soil to the influences of the atmosphere, can there be any valid reason adduced why the same result may not be obtained with any other plant or vegetable production? Such was the reasoning by which Tull arrived at his conclusions. We shall see, as we proceed, how fully he was justified by the success attending his practice of the new system.

Previous to Tull's agricultural career, the husbandry of England was chiefly pastoral. The land was, to a great extent, farmed by the proprietors, the 'old English yeomanry,'—then a very numerous and powerful body. The population of the kingdom was small; and the proportion of the rural part of it much larger than at present, the great northern hives of industry being scarcely in existence. It was about the beginning of the last century, and when Tull began to practise his new husbandry, that the cultivation of cereal crops began to be more extended by the appropriation of portions of the grazing lands to that object. Corn, however, was the only produce raised upon the arable land, and consisted of rye, wheat, barley, oats, and pease, alternating with each other, according to the quality of the soil, but never with any other kind of plant;—the turnip husbandry, and the present rotation of crops, being then almost unknown. Where this system was persisted in too continuously, the deterioration of the land was a natural consequence; but the good farmers of that day adopted the Roman expedient of a 'bare fallow,' by which they had an opportunity of destroying pernicious weeds, and of admitting by tillage the accumulation of those elements of fertility supplied by the frost and snow of winter, and the rains and sunshine of summer. Of those derived from the atmosphere in common, very little, if anything, was known previous to Tull's discoveries; but it was a third benefit derived from the practice. The results of the extension of this

practice are shown by the following table of the 'estimated acreable corn-produce of England at various periods : '—

	Wheat. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Oats. Bushels.
1. In the 13th century	12	24	24
2. Latter part of the 16th...	16 to 20	36	32 to 40
3. Third quarter of the 18th, at which time the old corn husbandry still prevailed	23 to 24	32	36
4. Middle of the 19th	26½	38	44

These figures are derived from Cullum, Arthur Young, and Caird (*English Agriculture*); we have reason to believe the latter is considerably underrated, so far as wheat is concerned, and that thirty-two bushels is nearer the truth at the present time than twenty-six and two-thirds.

The scanty results of the cereal crops previous to the introduction of turnip husbandry, and notwithstanding the 'bare fallow,' may be accounted for by the small quantity of manure applied to the corn crops. The largest portion of that produced, as well as the most valuable, was devoted to the grass land, by which a large crop of hay was secured for the winter feeding of the horses and cattle; the only dependence of the latter, there being no root crops raised for their support.

Tull's intelligent observation led him to conclude that, with so feeble an application of the restoratives of fertility to the corn crops, it was impossible but that the land should become deteriorated; while the effect of the 'bare fallow' was equally conclusive to his mind of the fact that the improvement was due to this latter alone, and not to the homœopathic doses of the former. Therefore, when, in the south of Europe, he witnessed the vineyard culture, and compared the results with those of the 'bare fallow' upon the cereal crops of England, he conceived the idea of introducing a system of interculture which, while it should supersede the 'bare fallow,' would provide for a sufficient degree of tillage to secure all its advantages of freedom from weeds, exposure of the soil to the sun and air, and rest from production.

'I own I took my first hints of horse-hoeing culture from the ploughed vineyards near Frontignan and Setts, in Languedoc; and after my return to England, having land come to my hands, I improved those hints, by observing that the same sort of vineyard tillage bestowed on potatoes and turnips, had the same effect on them

as it had on these vines; and then' (referring to an accidental field observation, which he had previously related) 'the mentioned row of barley, adjoining to the horse-hoed turnips, confirmed me in the principles which, by arguing from effects to their causes, I had formed to myself; and my practice ever since has been a further confirmation to me of the truth of the same principles.'—*Tillage and Manure*, p. 32.

But, as we have shown, Tull was the father or improver of drill-husbandry, and of all the benefits which that system now confers on agriculture. He was the first to show in an efficient manner how the seed could be mere regularly deposited, by which much less would be required; and also how the crops of corn could be kept clear of weeds, by the use of the hoe between the rows, whether by hand or horse hoe. Tull, however, continued to widen his intervals between the rows of corn, till they admitted the 'plough-hoe,' as he termed it. The benefit now derived from the principle—with a smaller space between, but admitting the modern horse-hoe—is chiefly due to his inventive genius.

The farm on which Tull at first practised horse-hoeing, was esteemed 'the poorest and shallowest in the neighbourhood.' It was situated on the chalk hills of Berks, and could be seen at ten or twelve miles' distance; and, as he says, 'was a more remarkable eminence before the trees were blown down by that memorable storm in the year 1703.' (Page 39.) In dry weather the whole staple looks of a white colour, being chalk, intermixed with flints and chalk stones. In the bottoms, between the hills, the soil was deeper, but still upon a chalk sub-soil; whilst a third part was the only field not resting on the chalk. Tull represents this as 'a very wet spewy soil of very little value, till I made it dry by ploughing across the descent of the hill. This soil is all too light and too shallow to produce a tolerable crop of beans.' (Page 39.)

Such was the character of the soil on which Tull commenced his new system of culture. The late W. Cobbett, who published an edition of Tull's work, visited the spot, and fully confirmed Tull's description of it in his *Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*. It was called 'Prosperous,' probably from his great success, and lies in the parish of Inkpen.

'I visited it,' says Cobbett, 'in the company of Mr. Budd of Newbury, who had visited it long before with Arthur Young, who, like me, visited it in the character of a pilgrim, and in honour of the memory of the real founder of every recent improvement that has been made in the agriculture of England.'—*Tillage and Manure*, p. 40.

In chapter v., 'On Manures,' Mr. Burnett goes into the rationale of the subject unfolded by modern science. He divides

the non-atmospheric constituents of vegetable growth insumed by the roots into two classes. First, inorganic substances, derived from the purely mineral matters of the ground by means of natural chemical decomposition; and, secondly, substances eliminated by the putrefactive decay of vegetable or animal (*i. e.* organic) remains, forming usually a minor, but still most important, part of the general constituency of soils.' (Page 42.) In addition to these, he enumerates marling, &c., and the use of concentrated manures, now applied to an exhausted soil; such as salt, gypsum, guano, ammoniates, nitrates, &c. None of these latter, except salt, were known in Tull's time; and the only species of manure on which he raised the question of utility, and which were then the only ones generally known, were those of a stercoraceous kind, the produce of the farm yard, ('dung court,') or night soil from the neighbouring town. The action of these upon a soil is thus described:—

'1st. All animal tissues are derived, directly or indirectly, from plants; and, as all plants obtain their constituents both from the soil and from the atmosphere, so, when organic exuvie of whatever kind resolve themselves by putrescent decomposition into their original elements, they simply restore to the earth or air those elements of vegetative growth of which plants, and animals, the consumers of plants, were constituted, to be again insumed and assimilated into fresh organisms. 2nd. Between these substances in a course of decomposition, and the inorganic matters of the soil, a chemical action ensues, (called by Tull "pulverization," and specially promoted by thorough tillage, invented by him,) by virtue of which the inorganic pabulum is more abundantly eliminated; and thus stercoraceous manuring is both *contributively* and *stimulatively* beneficial.'—Page 43.

The deficient state of chemical knowledge in Tull's time prevented him from comprehending, in all their length and breadth, the principles involved in the above propositions; yet he asserted that dung manures yielded in small proportions 'earths' or 'salts'; and, still more, that by their fermentation in the soil they acted as stimulants, dissolving, crumbling, and dividing the earth 'very much.' By this idea, he ascribed both a mechanical and a chemical action to them; although unable to express himself in the scientific language of the present day. Tull's husbandry was based upon a deep practical knowledge of the relative effects of manuring and tillage, and whether *much* manure and *little* tillage,—or *less* manure and *more* tillage,—or *no* manure at all, except what could be drawn from the air, but *much* tillage, was most remunerative in pecuniary results. Tull adopted the last alternative, in successive corn-growing; and on his own poor land worked out successfully the problem,

which, in the recesses of his own mind, he had theoretically matured by inductive observation. 'It should, however, be observed, that the old tillage husbandry of England, which Tull sought to reform, was itself all but entirely unmanurial.*'

With his own convictions, however, on the subject, he left the question of the use or disuse of manure an open one; at the same time warning the farmer 'that large produce and large profits are not synonymous;' that the expense of manures may more than counterbalance the increase of the crop; and that the money thus expended would be more advantageously spent in additional tillage. 'I have made, he says, 'many trials of fine dung on the rows, and, notwithstanding the benefit of it, I have for these several years past left it off, finding that a little more hoeing will supply it at a much less expense than that of so small a quantity of manure, and of the hands necessary to lay it on, and of the carriage.'† With these convictions, the little manure he raised by his draught cattle,—for he kept no others,—was applied to sain-foin and pasture land, both of which were permanent. When, however, manure was still used for the corn crops, he recommends it to be applied in repeated small doses during the growth of the crops, rather than in one bulk previous to the sowing.

Tull ascribes to tillage the same functions as manure, *i.e.*, breaking and dividing the ground by the implement used.

'Dung without tillage can do very little; with some tillage, does something; with much tillage, pulverizes the soil in less time than tillage alone can do; but the tillage alone, with more time, can pulverize as well. Tillage, as well as dung, is beneficial to all sorts of land. Light land, being naturally hollow, has larger pores, which are the cause of its lightness. This, when it is by any means sufficiently divided, the parts being brought nearer together, becomes for a time, bulk for bulk, heavier; but strong land, being naturally less porous, is made for a time lighter, as well as richer, by a good division. The separation of the parts makes it more porous, and causes it to take up more room than it does in its natural state, and then it partakes of all the benefits of lighter land.'—Page 52.

The more free admission of the dew, and other fertilizing properties of the atmosphere, was one of the results which he justly ascribed to thorough tillage. He shows that in the driest weather a well pulverized soil will contain moisture, while an imperfectly tilled soil will be as dry as powder from top to bottom. It is not, however, certain whether the porousness of the soil under perfect tillage does not, by admitting the warmth of the atmosphere, act by *exhalation* of the subsoil moisture

* *Tillage and Manure*, p. 48.

† *Ibid.*, p. 47.

which it draws to the surface in the form of mist, as well as by the *inhalation* of the dew, in dry weather. Probably both contribute to this result. The retention by the soil of the fertilizing elements of the atmosphere, descending in the form of dew, rain, snow, &c., has been clearly demonstrated by the experiments of Professor Thompson in 1845, confirmed by the independent experiments of Professor Way, then chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society of England. In passing water, holding a solution of salt of ammonia, through vegetable mould placed in a filtering apparatus, he found, on testing the water thus filtered, that no ammonia remained, having been absorbed or appropriated by the soil. It was further found that this absorption was not mechanical; but that the ammonia, in its disappearance, had combined chemically in an insoluble form, with some substance previously existing in the soil, to which it had an affinity. This substance has not even yet been identified.* Besides the ammoniacal matters thus separated and absorbed by the soil, the Professor found that other substances, the constituents of plants, were subjected to a similar process in passing in a liquid form through the soil, affording decisive evidence that there exist in the earth substances possessing attractive and assimilating properties, by which the elements of fertility in the atmosphere, whether in the shape of dew, rain, snow, or merely an æriform fluid, are absorbed and assimilated, and thus retained in the soil for the purpose of vegetation. Thus the principle on which Tull based his system and practice of husbandry, but which the state of science in his day did not permit him to explain, is fully justified. And it was chiefly on the æriform character of these atmospheric elements that he depended for fertilizing the soil, and for which he advocated and practised the perfect tillage of his fields. All the modern chemists have by their discoveries proved the correctness of Tull's deductions. 'The soil,' says Liebig, 'not only retains firmly all the food of plants which is actually in it, but its power to preserve all that may be useful to them extends much farther. If rain or other water, holding in solution ammonia, potash, phosphoric and silicic acids, be brought into contact with the soil, these substances disappear almost immediately from the solution; the soil withdraws them from the water. Only such substances are completely withdrawn by the soil as are indispensable articles of food for plants; all others remain wholly or in part in solution.'†

In this explanation we have the full solution of the problem, worked out in the *practice* of the proto-chemical agriculturist,

* *Tillage and Manure*, p. 58.

† Liebig on *Modern Agriculture*, p. 30.

whilst he had no adequate phraseology to explain the *theory* of it. This is no derogation from his merit as a discoverer, since it has taken a century and a half to complete the discoveries he made, and to give them a name and a place in the vocabularies of science.

Tull appears to have introduced the horse-hoe, which, in fact, in his practice, was a slight ploughing, and it was only on his system that it could be used. By sowing in rows he was able to regulate the width of space between so as to admit the 'plough-hoe' in the intervals, and thus to keep the soil both open and clear of weeds. He soon also discovered a collateral advantage from it previously unknown or overlooked. The soil thus stirred was always moist, and required less rain. This he ascribes to a less degree of evaporation, and a greater absorption of dew and other atmospheric moisture. As we have already observed, this is probably the result, in part, of the subsoil moisture being drawn to the surface by the free admission of the light and air, under the action of the horse-hoe. The effect, however, is well known; although some of our farmers in the present day, as well as in Tull's, 'fancy that it lets in the drought, and therefore are afraid to hoe their plants at such times, when, unless they water them, they are spoiled for want of it.'..... But to hoe with advantage against dry weather, the ground must have been well tilled or hoed before, that the hoe may go deep; else the dews that fall in the night will be exhaled back in the heat of the day.*

Tull accounted for the different degrees of fertility at different times in the same soil, by the greater or less extent of the interstitial surfaces of the pulverized fragments trituated by tillage, dung, or the influence of the atmospheric agencies. He termed these multiplied surfaces 'the pastures of plants;' and their extent is increased in proportion to the subdivision the soil has undergone by those various means. The range of his chemical knowledge is shown in the following passage. 'It is agreed that all the following materials contribute in some manner to the increase of plants; but it is disputed which of them is that very increase or food; 1, nitre; 2, water; 3, air; 4, fire (*i.e.* heat); 5, earth.' (Page 75.)

Tull has been supposed to mean by 'earth,' that the roots of plants took up grains of solid earth; but the following passage proves that the supposition was incorrect. 'Water, from Van Helmont's experiment, was by some great philosophers thought to be the food of plants; but these were deceived, in not observing that water has always in its elements a charge of earth, from

* *Tillage and Manure*, p. 71.

which no art can free it.' 'A plant cannot separate the pabulum of plants from the parts to which they adhere, without the assistance of water, which helps to loosen them.' It is evident from this, that the 'earth' he speaks of, consists of those elements which are held in solution in water, and not the crude particles of mould of which the soil is composed. Tull, however, was not acquainted with the part which water *per se* assumes as a substantive and indispensable nutriment in the formation of plants. And yet his system embraced the principle, by admitting the necessity of moisture to loosen the particles, whilst he deprecated an excess, or supersaturation, as baneful to terrestrial plants. 'Let thyme and rushes change places, and both will die; but let them change their soil, by removing the earth wherein the thyme grew, from the dry hill down into the watery bottom, and plant rushes therein; and carry the moist earth wherein the rushes grew up to the hill, and then thyme will grow in the earth that was taken from the rushes; and so will rushes grow in the earth that was taken from the thyme; so that it was only more or less water that makes the same earth fit either for the thyme or rushes.' (Page 78.)

In speaking of the properties or qualities of the air, Tull makes a distinction between the physical and the physiological effects they produce. We scarcely understand wherein this difference consists, both terms being strictly referable to the nature of things; and we can only ascribe his application of them to the paucity of scientific terms at that period, and the confusion of ideas, which the want of a knowledge of the properties and constituents of the air occasioned in those who endeavoured to express themselves in appropriate language. The action of the air on plants is mechanical and chemical, and both are physiological, and essential to their growth. It was not known in Tull's days, that CARBON, which constitutes the chief element in the composition of plants, is largely supplied from the atmosphere. Yet he had a glimmering idea of it; for he says, 'Indeed, the true food of plants may be also the *fuel of fire*, which is so greedy of that food, (*i.e.*, vegetable matter,) as to carry it all away that comes within reach of its flame.' (Page 81.)

On the beneficial effect of the use of the hoe upon growing plants, Tull's ideas are very clearly and decidedly expressed. He shows that the breaking of the small rootlets by the hoe is no injury to the plant, because they are instantly replaced by a greater number; and that, consequently, it thrives the faster for the disturbance, as well as on account of the additional nourishment supplied by it. The process of *tillering* in cereal plants, too, is equally promoted by tillage and manure, or by thorough

tillage alone. Thin sowing, however, is a condition of much tillering; it being impossible, where the plants stand thick and close, that many ears, or stalks, can be thrown out from one root. 'We augment our wheat crop,' he says, 'four ways; not in the number of plants, but of stalks, ears, and grains. The first is by increasing the number of stalks from one, two, or three, to thirty or forty, to a plant in ordinary field land. And we augment the crop by bringing up all the stalks into ears, which is the second way; for, if it be diligently observed, we shall find that not half the stalks of sown wheat come into ear. I saw an experiment of this on rows of wheat that were equally poor. One of these rows was increased so much as to produce more grains than two of the others, by bringing up more of its stalks into ears, and also by augmenting its ears to a much greater bigness; which is the third way; for whatever Varro means by saying the ears remain *in vaginis*, 't is pretty plain that the ears are formed together with the stalks, and will be very large or very small in proportion to the nourishment given to them. If a square yard of sown wheat be marked out, and the stalks thereof numbered in the spring, it will be found that *nine parts in ten are missing at harvest*.

'The last and fourth way of augmenting the wheat crop, is by causing them to have large and plump grains in the ears; and this can no way be so effectually done as by horse-hoeing, especially just after the wheat has gone out of blossom. And when such hoed grains weigh double the weight of the same number of unhoed, (which they frequently will,) though the number of grains in the hoed are equal only, yet the hoed crop must be doubled.' (Page 95.)

The good effect of the hoe upon Tull's own land is illustrated by the result upon a piece of heath-ground of so poor a quality, that the parson on one occasion carried off the whole crop, thinking that it was only the tithe that was left. Dung and labour which said was thrown away upon it; but upon being put under the hoeing management, the very first crop (barley) was the best it had ever yielded; and it continued to improve under cereal culture, until the neighbouring farmers changed their tone, and said it was impossible, but that it 'must be very rich ground, because they saw it produce six crops in six years, without dung or fallow, and never one of them fail!'

But we must hasten on, leaving the reader to find in chapter ix., 'An Epitome of Tull's Directions for the Practice of his System of Tillage,' embracing,—

1. The means by which he progressively changed the culture of his fields from the old to the new husbandry.

2. The sowing and relative processes.
3. The intercultural processes of horse-hoeing.
4. The hand-hoeing operations.
5. The reaping.
6. The preparation of the stubbles for the next crop. (Page 103.)

We shall now turn to the most persevering and most successful of Tull's followers, the Rev. S. Smith, of Lois Weedon, in Oxfordshire, whose proceedings are detailed in the second and third publications, named at the head of this paper. Mr. Smith's practice extends to root crops as well as cereal; but, as Tull confined himself, at the latter part of his career, to corn crops, it is to the practice of both, relative to these, that we shall direct our chief attention.

The principal difference between Tull and his pupil in the management of the land is this, that whereas Tull never went below the staple soil of five or six inches, Mr. Smith brings up a portion of the sub-soil every year, until the staple is from sixteen to eighteen inches deep. This he effects by using the spade, and sometimes the fork, which latter he finds more effectual in breaking and pulverizing the clay. In Tull's time it was considered dangerous to go below the staple; and there are farmers in the present day who entertain the same erroneous opinion. We know of no subsoil, unless it be a *black gravel*, that it would be injurious to introduce upon the surface soil, under certain conditions. Mr. Smith also claims originality in bringing up the furrow-slice against the growing outside rows of wheat. But we apprehend he is under a mistake here; for he gives special directions, in laying the furrow-slice against the seed platforms, to avoid burying the tender wheat rows; and he says that his ploughmen, who understood their business, never ploughed out any part of the outside row. And at the last, when the wheat was off the blooming, a fresh furrow-slice, impregnated with the fertilizing elements of the atmosphere during the previous period, was heaped up against the flanks of the rows, giving a fresh stimulus to the plant to throw out new rootlets, and thereby sustain the plant in its progress to maturity.

The great advantages of the spade-and-fork over the plough husbandry, and of the subsoiling which is thereby rendered possible, is exhibited in the pecuniary, or rather in the acreable, results of the two systems. Allowance, however, must be made for the difference of soil, Tull's land having been a very thin one over a chalk subsoil, whereas Smith's is partly a strong clay, and a light gravelly loam. The following is the statement of

the expense and produce of ten acres of wheat for twenty years, under the system as practised by Tull, and inserted in the third edition of his work, published in 1771:—

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
First year's extraordinary expenses, as for ploughing } and manuring the land the same as in the old way.. }	22	0	0			
Ploughing once more at 4s. 0d. per acre	2	0	0			
Seed, 9 gallons per acre, at 4s. 0d. per bushel .	2	5	0			
Drilling, at 7d. per acre.....	0	5	10			
Hand-hoeing and weeding, at 2s. 6d. per acre	1	5	0			
Horse-hoeing, 6 times at 10s. 0d. per acre ...	5	0	0			
Reaping, binding, and carrying, at 6s. 0d. } per acre	3	0	0			
Annual charges for 10 acres	13	15	10			
Multiplied by 20, it gives	275	16	8			
Total charges for 20 years	297	16	8			
Produce 2 quarters per acre, at 28s. 0d. per quarter— } which, for 10 acres in 20 years, is	560	0	0			
There therefore remains a clear profit, on 10 acres in } 20 years, of.....*	262	3	4			

The following is the balance-sheet for the clay soil for one year of Mr. Smith's farm:—

	£.	s.	d.
Rent, £2. 0s. 0d., forking half an acre, £1. 0s. 0d. ...	3	0	0
Horse-hoeing at Spring	0	1	0
Ditto, before sowing	0	2	0
Drilling and rolling	0	2	0
Half a bushel of seed at 8s. 9d.....	0	4	4½
Rolling at Spring	0	1	0
Hoeing and hand-weeding	0	5	0
Earthing-up wheat.....	0	2	0
Bird-keeping	0	4	0
Reaping, carrying, and thatching.....	0	13	0
Threshing, &c.	1	0	0
Rates, taxes, and interest on outlay	0	6	0
Total yearly expenditure	6	0	4½

The produce Mr. Smith estimates at 6 quarters per acre, but puts it down at 5 quarters for that year, 1857:—

* It is quite possible that the foregoing statement was an approximate one given by the editor of the edition of 1771; but it is near enough to what Tull himself has made to be taken as a fair average of the period of 20 years.

	£.	s.	d.
5 quarters at 70s. 0d.....	17	10	0
1½ tons of straw, at 40s. 0d.	3	0	0
	20	10	0
Deduct expenses.....	6	0	4½
Net profit	14	9	7½

Or put it in a different way, and take the average produce of 34 bushels at 40s. 0d. per quarter:—

	£.	s.	d.
4 quarters 2 bushels at 40s. 0d.	8	10	0
1½ tons of straw at 40s. 0d.	3	0	0
	11	10	0
Deduct expenses.....	5	16	0
Total net profit	5	14	0

It is to be observed that in Tull's estimate there is no charge for rent, taxes, or interest of money, which, reckoning the first at 5s. 0d., and the other two at 3s. 0d. per acre, would reduce the profit of 30s. 0d. per acre per annum to 22s. 0d. And yet this was double that of the then common mode of farming.* The produce of two quarters per acre also, (or 16 bushels,) represents 18 bushels 40 lbs. of the present measure, the bushel being expressly stated in a note in Tull's work to be 70 lbs., or 10 lbs. more than the present. This was the average produce of twenty years. It must also be taken into account, that the land at 'Prosperous' farm was *incapable* of being subsoiled. It was composed of a thin coating of good alluvial over the pure chalk; so that if the ploughman let the plough-sole down two inches below the usual staple, it would bring up clear chalk, which would be worse than useless, if repeated in the way that Mr. Smith brings up the clay subsoil of his farm until he reaches the depth of eighteen inches. Whether, therefore, Tull was or was not acquainted with the advantages of deep culture, or subsoiling, he had no opportunity of practising it to any advantage on his own farm. It would, however, have been no discredit to Tull, even if he had not arrived at a knowledge of the advantages of subsoiling, having no opportunity of practising it. His great merit consisted in so managing a 'poor, thin soil,'—such it was

* This is estimated in the same account at only 12s. 8d. per acre, *without charging rent or taxes.*

when he took it into his own hands,—as to make it grow more than double the amount of grain it had ever done before, by superior tillage alone, without manure, and with continued cropping, year after year. This was a discovery purely his own, and which had never been previously thought of by any other person. It resulted from one of those accidental concurrences of events, which brought a mind of peculiarly analogical tact to exercise its powers upon the systems of husbandry that came under his notice. Abandoning at once all his preconceived notions on the subject, he began to carry out his new views; and in spite of the ridicule and opposition of his neighbours, and, worse still, the dogged and mischievous perverseness of his labourers, he persevered, until he compelled the former, by sheer conviction, to acknowledge the superiority of his practice, and the latter to fall in with it.

To return to Mr. Smith:—

‘No manure for your wheat at all? How is this? Before I reply, let me take the reader to see the crops and how they are grown.—Come first to the clay field; the field on which (in another part) the beans and the green crops grow. The plant here looks well and strong; but it is thicker in the rows than it has hitherto been; for I have sown thicker for the sake of the sample, and for safety sake. The sort is the red Lammas, at two pecks per acre, a large seeding for me; and a portion of it is the eleventh unmanured crop on the same acre of land. It is in triple rows, you perceive, a foot between row and row, with three-feet intervals, which are fallow; a common bare fallow, without the common accompaniment of a fallow,—the loss of a crop. It is kept constantly clean; and in June, a turn of the plough, making a furrow in the centre of the intervals, will earth up the wheat and keep it from falling. The effect of that process was strikingly shown this season; for my crop was heavy,—the heaviest and best I have ever had. Parted only by a low hedge, stood my neighbour’s crop of manured wheat, equally good with mine; and so it continued till a short time before harvest, when the storm came and down it fell. A few days of rain, and the crop would have been ruined: as it was, it was only made lighter. On the same sort of soil, with the same aspect, but unmanured, and on a different plan, all of mine, excepting a few yards, stood perfectly upright, and was wholly uninjured. From the number of shocks threshed out for seed, compared with the number all through, the estimated yield this season approximates to six quarters per acre. The ten years’ average from this moiety of the acre, has been thirty-four bushels; a very high average on any place for a whole acre; and here, too, therefore, the proverb holds good, “The half is more than the whole.”’—*Lois Weedon Husbandry*, p. 79.

The above passage gives a clear description of the process and results of the clay land. The following is equally descriptive of those of the light soil:—

'A short way off is this four-acre piece of light land.....I took these from my tenant for the express purpose of experiment on a totally different description of soil from the clay land, and in a totally different condition. For it is a light gravelly loam, the gravel greatly predominating. It was totally exhausted between five and six years ago, in the ordinary acceptance of the term; for it had never known a bare fallow in the memory of man. Four years before, it had been manured for swedes, which were carried off the land. It had no dressing for the three following crops; the rotation ending with a crop of wheat, sown broadcast. In this condition, the stubble standing, I entered upon the field in October, 1850. I then simply ploughed the whole field *an inch deeper* than it had ever been ploughed before; cleaned and levelled it; and so, without preparation, got in my wheat. Out of the five unmanured crops which have followed, the yield from these four acres was twenty quarters and a half in 1851, and in 1854 twenty quarters; bringing the average of the five years to about thirty-four bushels. Come with me now and see how the sixth crop looks at this moment. No one can deny that it is coming up well and strong.....The intervals are dug already.....Observe also, that here, instead of triple rows, there are but two rows of wheat, with three-feet intervals. Why is this? Simply for the greater ease of hand weeding and hoeing.....And you will notice besides that the intervals are dug only *one spit deep*, for this reason. In former diggings I found I had to deal with a gravelly subsoil, evidently deficient in mineral food for the wheat plant. As I could not therefore bring up what I wanted from below, I carted the clay from a clay pit in a corner of the field,—after weathering and turning it again and again,—and spread it on the surface, to be mixed with the staple and dug in. The yield this year is comparatively light, amounting to only twenty-five bushels per acre; but the sample was one of the best in the neighbouring market,' &c.—*Lois Weedon Husbandry*, p. 83.

The foregoing passages afford a clear idea of the 'Lois Weedon husbandry.' With regard to his observations on Tull's system, and his practice of not 'going below the staple' with the plough, we have shown that he could not do so with impunity on his chalk soil, any more than Mr. Smith could on his gravelly subsoil. Tull, therefore, had no opportunity of subsoiling to advantage, even if the idea had struck him, though, if it never struck him, it was no discredit.* The practice and its advantages have been known for many years, so that Mr. Smith has had the benefit of the experience of others, which Tull had not;

* There are, however, indications in Tull's work that he was well acquainted with the practice of deep culture. 'We trench-plough *where the land allows it*; and two ploughed furrows (that is, *one ploughed under another*) are as much more advantageous for the nourishing a crop, as *two bushels of oats are better than one for nourishing a horse*.'

If this passage does not include sub-soiling or deep culture, we are at a loss to know what it does mean.

and he can scarcely claim it as a new invention, otherwise than as applied to the Tullian system.

Other agriculturists have from time to time made experiments upon the Tullian system with equal success. These are enumerated in *Tillage and Manure*, to which we must refer the reader for their names, and the period for which they continued the experiments. We have shown, however, by the extract from Tull's own book, that Mr. Burnett errs in supposing that his produce was 24 bushels per acre, (p. 151,) and that the average was estimated by him, for 20 years, at only 'two quarters or sixteen bushels of 70lbs. each.' We shall now refer to the experiments of Mr. Lawes at Rothamstead, which, both on account of the deservedly high position that gentleman occupies in the estimation of the agricultural public, and the fact that these experiments are recorded in the pages of the *Royal Agricultural Journal of England*, demand more than a passing notice.

These experiments are referred to both by Mr. Burnett and Mr. Smith, and each of them asserts that for many reasons they cannot be considered as tests of the general principles of the Tullian husbandry. Mr. Burnett adduces the following reasons for this opinion.

'1st. That made, as they were, irrespective of considerations of industrial profit to the experimenters, they do not fall within the category of *practical trials*.

'2nd. With regard to the *cultural means used*, these were deemed of so little importance in the inquiry, that in the reports of the trials published by the experimenters themselves, no circumstance connected with *tillage* is admitted, except only in the nugatory instance referred to in the foot-note at p. 153.

'3rd. Although the trials consisted of instances of *unintermittent corn-growing*, it is remarkable that Jethro Tull's discoveries, doctrines, and practice in that mode of husbandry were, in conducting them, completely ignored.'—*Tillage and Manure*, p. 170.

Mr. Smith also charges Mr. Lawes with the following deviations from the rules practised by himself at Lois Weedon, each of them essential to success.

'1st. He neither pulverized the trial piece, nor kept the surface open; so that it became foul and crusted in the summer.

'2nd. Instead of keeping the surface open, whilst the corn was growing, by the horse-hoe, he only hoed it twice by hand, whilst the intervals were not hoed at all.

'3rd. Instead of bringing up the subsoil by degrees, an inch or two in a season, Mr. Lawes at once dug the ground over two spits deep, by which he brought up one whole spit of six or eight inches of the stiff raw clay, with which the staple was thus covered, to the detriment of the crop.

'4th. Four-foot intervals were used instead of three-feet, by which the crop was reduced one sixth.

'5th. The roller was neither used after the wheat was first sown, nor in the spring, the latter being especially necessary after the frost.'

To these deviations from the principle on which Tull practised his husbandry, and from those adopted by Mr. Smith at Lois Weedon, both our authors ascribe the failure of the experiment at Rothamstead,—the produce for 13 years averaging only 16 bushels 1 peck per acre, on a clay soil apparently equal in quality to that at Lois Weedon, where the average has been 34 bushels. But our space will not allow us to follow the arguments and tabular statements further; and we must hasten to conclude this notice.

In chapter xiii. Mr. Burnett, after showing that Tull was 'the originator of thin sowing, drilling, interculture, tillage a substitute for manure,' &c., goes on to say,—

'5th. That to exclude the cultivation of cattle crops from the management of the modern improved farm, would only be to resort to the ancient tillage farming of England, which obtained up to the introduction of roots and clover as plants of field culture.

'6th. That this elder husbandry was vicious in no respect except in an insufficiency of tillage means, either to cleanse the surface from foul vegetation, or to promote adequately the mechanical and chemical amelioration of the soil.

'7th. That the main feature in the old tillage husbandry of England, was successive corn-growing, under which, successive as it was, the soil of the kingdom not only underwent no diminution in productiveness, but actually kept pace in fertility with the advance in national industry and the improvement of agricultural practice.

'8th. That Jethro Tull's method of unintermittent corn-growing, without manure, was simply a reformed adaptation of the old husbandry; and that, in the actual practice of that method, he proved the truth of the following propositions: viz., that the then newly originated theory of change of species being a necessity in field culture was a fallacy, since his own crops, instead of falling off, became yearly more abundant; that not only was his mode of working the land a substitute for manure, but more than a substitute for *old* manuring, since increasing fertility was the consequence; and that in point of economy of labour, as well as efficiency of performance, his tillage procedure was every way successful,' &c.

Such are the principal deductions drawn by Mr. Burnett from a review of Tull's system. And they are fully borne out in the practice of that system by the Rev. Mr. Smith at Lois Weedon; though greatly augmented in its effects by the superiority of the soil, and the increased knowledge of the present day in science and natural history. Nor would it be right to omit the

increased means of more effectual cultivation afforded by the vast number of agricultural implements now used, by which the tillage of the soil is more efficiently performed. Especially is this the case where steam power is employed, which is probably destined to effect an entire revolution in husbandry. So strong, indeed, is our opinion on this subject, that we feel convinced, if the Tullian system of husbandry could be combined with the Halkett guideway system of cultivation, *wheat could be profitably grown at a much lower price than the present average rates.* That the Tullian husbandry is practicable upon a large scale with the present means of a thorough tillage cannot admit of a doubt, when we find that Tull could apply it to his farm of near two hundred acres (as Mr. Burnett supposes*) with success; for he states that he laid by money enough out of the profits to purchase more land. Nor needs this system to interfere with the cultivation of root or green crops, as only a part of a farm may be appropriated to it,—say one fourth,—and the remainder to other produce, to which the manure may be applied. The Tullian husbandry, in fact, is found equally applicable to roots and to corn; and the Rev. Mr. Smith has shown in his work that larger crops may be raised by this system than by the ordinary method.

In the present state of agriculture, (in 1857 and 1858,) and more especially looking at the price of wheat, it becomes a necessity for the farmer to endeavour to reduce the expenses attending the growth of that grain. Tull calculated, in his time, that unless the mean price of wheat was forty shillings, the farmer could not grow it to advantage. It is admitted that the cultivation of the ground can be performed more effectually, and, by the improvement in machinery and implements, more cheaply than in Tull's time. But, on the other hand, the expenses attending a farm are far greater than at that period; and this more than counterbalances any improvement in tillage, so far as the expenses are concerned. Besides, the enormous sums that are spent in manure, both artificial and raised on the farm, are an important and almost overwhelming item in the accounts of modern farming. It is generally asserted that cattle kept on a farm are merely machines for manufacturing manure; that, *per se*, their maintenance is attended with a dead loss; and that it is only by the increased crops of cereals consequent on the manure raised that any advantage is derived from them.

Bearing in mind, therefore, these considerations, we feel justified in strongly recommending Mr. Smith's and Mr. Burnett's works to the agricultural public. They contain and unfold

* Tull himself calls it 'a large farm.'

principles of the highest practical importance, as they were successfully carried out on a large scale by Tull, at a period when science as applied to agriculture was unknown; and as they are now carried out by Mr. Smith on a smaller scale, when new means, appliances, and knowledge, have enabled him to improve upon the practice of his prototype.

ART. V.—1. *On Liberty.* By JOHN STUART MILL. 1859.

2. *Report to the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on the Cardross Case.* 1859.

3. *The Ultimate Principle of Religious Liberty.* 1860.

THERE are few phrases in the English language which have been used in our time with so little discrimination as that which stands at the head of this article. Once it was the watchword of a great and prolonged struggle, and the prestige of that important service clings to it even now, when the practical benefits which it represented have been won, and the phrase itself has degenerated into cant. It is high time that all who attach any solid meaning to the term 'religious liberty,' or who are careful to possess any theory of the rights and duties which it involves, should endeavour to rescue these words, and the beliefs they import, from the hands of demagogues, and carve durably in memorial stone the truths whose living power we in England, at least, no longer need for purposes of conflict.

With this view, our aim in the following pages will be to define religious liberty, not so much for the sake of knowing what it is, as of knowing what it is not. On any sound interpretation of the term, this country has already secured religious liberty, (though, if report says truly, Scotland is not quite so far advanced;) but there still remain many opinions and demands on this side the border which are supposed to be concerned with religious liberty, while, in reality, they are not. And since our object is thus a practical one, and directed to the faults of the present day, we shall ask leave to make certain assumptions which would otherwise encumber the discussion, and take up too much space.

And, first, we assume the truth of orthodox Christianity: not because it is uncontroverted, or always taken into full view in treating of the question, but because it is generally believed by those to whom our conclusions are principally addressed. Even if this were not so, since one thing must be taken at a time, this

would not be the place to enter into the evidences or the interpretation of Scripture. It will be found that most treatises upon our present subject assume either the truth or the falsehood of evangelical Christianity. And we are only following wise precedents when we choose our foundation-stone, and proceed to build, without caring to demonstrate here that it comes from the right quarry.

Secondly, we assume that, granting the truth of Christianity, there is to be such a thing as religious liberty. Now this is a hypothesis which has only grown up in modern times, and it can by no means be regarded as universally held. The entire system of the Roman Catholic Church—and that includes a very large department of modern opinions and practice—reprobates any such proposition; nor is the denial confined to Roman Catholics. If Christianity is to influence the State at all in its relations to conscience, why ought not Christianity to be first defined and expounded, for the purpose of influencing those relations? and why must the State stop short at protecting the true, and not proceed to put down the false? If truth is good, are not errors bad? But all these questions are put on the shelf of abstract contemplation, by the simple facts that a large number of Christian Churches (who shall refuse them the name?) are, each separately, claiming the privileges of truth,—and claiming them not on any common ground of truth and error, but by pure virtue of their truth; that another large number of associations for the spread of false religion exist, which it is impossible, if it were right, to put down; and still worse,—that, even conceding variety of form to the Church of Christ, there are numerous sects of which it is extremely difficult, and somewhat arbitrary, to predicate that they either are, or are not, parts of that Church. It is too late, now, to set up one sole visible Church; it is too late to persecute; too late, even, for the State to institute a pass examination in orthodoxy.

However attractive, therefore, may appear the symmetrical theory which identifies the Church and the State, or that equally elegant system which represents them as on terms of independent alliance, it is sadly true that both these views fail to afford us a principle of religious liberty which will allow the State to protect conscience without abandoning truth. To refuse our second assumption, would be to go back to the ages before the Reformation had asserted the right of private judgment; to deny the first, would be to retreat still further into those dark times, when our forefathers had no revealed religion by which to judge. And we shall proceed upon these hypotheses to examine whether some rule cannot be laid down,

adapted to the wants of the times,—a rule of religion, and yet of liberty, which may deserve the title we seek to interpret, and rescue a much-abused phrase from the dictionary of political slang.

What, then, is Religious Liberty?

In the first place, liberty is not so much a state as a right. We do not call a man free to do certain things, because at the present moment nobody is hindering him from doing them. The French press is not free, because some restrictions are for a time withdrawn; nor an Abolitionist hawker in the Southern States, because his principles are not yet found out; nor a converted Turk, because the Sultan may happen to be negotiating a loan. Liberty implies certain promises, guarantees, indemnities, reliable securities, against interference. Complete liberty requires that these securities shall be of the strongest and most durable character which can be obtained. And it is because traditional custom is the very firmest foundation of these guarantees, that freedom is of slow growth, and cannot be set up instantaneously by the aid of ever so much wisdom and goodwill. Liberty, then, is the security that a man will not be prevented from doing certain things, or punished for doing them, or for not doing them. And Religious Liberty is this security in the doing or the not doing religious things.

Our inquiry must, therefore, include these six questions:—What are religious things? What is the molestation or punishment to be provided against? Who are the molesters or punishers? Who are the securers? What the security? and, finally, How much liberty *ought* men, under such conditions, to have, to do, or to refrain from, actions which we include within the term 'religious?' For it is clear that this last question is a distinct one from the first, unless we give at the outset such a definition to 'religious,' as will beg the whole argument.

It will, perhaps, be best first to clear out of our way the fourth and fifth questions, because the solution of them is more easy, and likely to be accepted, than that of the rest. The only security which can be obtained for being allowed to do *anything* so obviously resides in government, that without it no human beings are known to have ever lived. Physical force is the ultimate appeal in human affairs; and freedom consists in the guarantee that physical force will be applied to maintain ethical rights. In recent times, many theories have been broached, and some schemes tried, for bringing men to live together under the simple rule of brotherly love; yet these schemes have invariably broken down, from the insufficient hold

which brotherly love has upon human impulses; and the theories have naturally followed their fate. The securers, therefore, are governments; and the securities, law, which directs, and executive justice, which deals out the physical force. It is true, that we often speak of civilization, public opinion, tradition, and so forth, as securers of liberty; but this is only indirectly, and because these things insure laws conformable to rights, and an execution of justice conformable to the laws. There is, indeed, one case in which we must look for security somewhat higher than the laws, strictly speaking, can carry us; and that is, when government is itself the party against which security is required. This security is invoked in the constitution, which establishes certain things which the government must not do, on peril of calling in the supreme physical force necessarily possessed by the mass of the people. But it is better to treat such cases as beyond rule, and to say that, when the government either transgresses the established constitution, or invades such definite rights as we can show to be superior to its authority, all liberty is at an end; and the injured, absolved from obedience, must resist, if they can, and, if not, abide. We can go no further; and we need not enlarge here on the difference between the duty of individual resistance and the right of raising general rebellion, or the subordination of all duties, except such as are enjoined by a positive law of God, to the duty of consulting the balance of utility.

We may dismiss, with similar brevity, the molesters or punishers. We have seen that they may be the governors to whom the complainant owes obedience; or they may be his fellow-subjects, or subjects of foreign nations, or even foreign governments themselves. These last two cases, however, do not introduce any new principle; since we are talking of such religious liberty as is superior to local jurisdiction, the violation of which, therefore, by a foreign state, constitutes a just cause of war.

The word 'religious' is one whose operation it is not very easy to restrict. It must be defined either 'from heaven or of men;' that is, must apply either to everything connected with the revealed will of God, or to everything ruled by the religious faculty in man—conscience. The former meaning would exclude all erroneous action of conscience; and, seeing that we are not bound to contend for the absolute freedom of everything conscientious, we cannot go wrong here in adopting the latter. There is, indeed, a conventional meaning commonly given to this word, which confines it to acts of immediate *worship*; and it is by taking hold of this peculiar sense, and using the phrase 'religious liberty' to mean liberty in *all* religious things, that

many dogmas have been ventured, which are not only very incomplete, but very misleading. We shall consider these heresies further on. In the mean time, our definition is so broad as to include all other definitions, and thus to shut out no theory from our observation, which depends upon the interpretation of the word 'religious.' And is not the conventional acceptance a very false one, and founded on a false state of things? There has been a time in England, when religion consisted in going to church, or in not going to church,—when theology was left to parsons, and morality, by consequence, to nobody. But the present generation will not be accused of any such habit, although it may employ a few loose phrases. The most popular preachers, in books and in pulpits, are more in danger of restricting religion on the other side. There is no exposition of 'Duty to God,' in spite of the Catechism, which does not include the whole sum of 'Duty to Man;' nor can the 'Whole Duty of Man' to men be so construed as to exclude his duty to God. Men are only brethren, because they are the children of a common Father,—in no other sense. To a religious man all things are religious.

We have reserved the *molestation*, so far, because it is the first point which involves a controversy. Mr. Mill, in the little book whose title we have quoted, and to which we shall have to make further reference, has declaimed loudly against that interference with personal action which is exercised by the public opinion of society. He adopts the principle, that the perfect development of individual character should be the grand object both of governments and of society at large; and complains that, by the middle-class influence in England and elsewhere, a coercion is put upon eccentricities, both of opinion and conduct, which cramps genius, and will ultimately, if not checked, reduce the modern nations to one dead level of mediocrity. Now, this sort of talk is both mischievous and false. It is mischievous, because there is no fact more certain than that the rise or fall of European liberty is measured by the enlarged influence or more stern repression of this public opinion. Mr. Mill laments over the strong-minded ones of old. Our fault, now-a-days, says he, is not strong characters, but weak consciences. The worst of it is, that this is a true antithesis. Strong-minded people are very apt to have weak consciences. And if we are to choose, we prefer the rule of a multitude of inferior men, with good consciences, to the despotism of a few mighty ones, with no consciences at all. For, of all men, your highly-developed individual character is the most terrible tyrant. Napoleon III. is, perhaps, the man, in this day, who has most set at nought the opinions and habits of others, and has chalked out for himself the most independent and original

line of conduct. And yet we cannot but prefer to live under the rule of the House of Commons. Servile as it is said to be to every flutter of the popular breeze, bound down by a series of dusty precedents, and hampered by the practical necessity of ranging itself on two sides of every question, we may yet be consoled by the reflections that the breeze, though gentle to yield to, is strong to break; that the precedents, if dusty, are at least legible; and that a real shield can have only two sides,—the golden and the brassen. And what is so obviously true of the greater, is no less true of the inferior forces of society. But the accusation is false; because public opinion, after all, is nothing more than the expressed belief of those to whose information and judgment a man pays deference. That he does pay that deference, is his own fault, if it be a fault at all. Surely, Mr. Mill does not desire to protect a man against himself? If his thought be not free, who can set it free? In fact, every word in Mr. Mill's book will go to reinforce the public opinion, whose strength he denounces. The more eccentricity a man can be induced to show in some particulars, the more powerful will be his support to those opinions in which he agrees, and the more constraint will he put upon the deference of his neighbour. And if he become so eccentric as to oppose a stout breast to the prevalent tide, the only effect will be to persuade men that a mind so strong must also be safe, to gather them round him, and become leader of a popular opinion more overwhelming than before. Man's understanding was not made for himself alone. He is compelled by a natural impulse, and induced by every feeling of duty, to exert it against the understanding and the ignorance of every one else, to propagate his own conclusions, with all the powers of argument and persuasion, of entreaty and affection even, in things deemed important, which are at his command. Mr. Mill would agree with this; but he goes further, and charges society with using certain means of backing its opinion by consequences very disagreeable to the dissentient; and this is true. But Mr. Mill himself distinctly admits, that any attempt to control these powers would be the grossest infringement of liberty; for they consist simply in withdrawing from intercourse with, and talking freely about, the delinquent. If there are any other means, unlawful, by which submission is enforced, they should be described. The only remnant of objection to the present *régime* of society must be, that it does not always use these powers with honesty, carefulness, and charity,—that it will sometimes use lawful measures for unlawful purposes. But these complaints are as much beyond Mr. Mill's subject as our own, since both are treating, not of what is right, but of what are rights. Of

course, fraud is the case excepted out of all rules, if you can prove it; the rest is merely a not very useful sermon. Mr. Mill has quitted the chair and mounted the pulpit, where we will leave him to address the conscience, contenting ourselves with deprecating such molestation or punishment as can fall within the scope of law. We claim as much right, as against any authority but that of our own conscience, to laugh at a Roman Catholic, as he claims that we shall not proceed to set fire to his chapel. A Roman Catholic landlord may, in return, refuse to admit a Protestant tenant, in other respects eligible. And each of these acts may result from motives of self-defence or the good of the community, and be perfectly justifiable and conscientious. It is only in cases where the power of society, or of a single despot, extends so far that self-defence is changed to downright hindrance and penalty, that the stigma of persecution will attach. When the Duke of Buccleugh refused his Free-church tenants sites for churches, he exercised his undoubted authority for sheer persecution. So a mill-owner, careful for the welfare of his hands, might be justified in refusing to employ known infidels in his factories; but a combination of masters through the country for a similar purpose would be persecution, because it would possess power to *punish*. But probably all these cases would prove to fall beyond the arm of the law, and therefore beyond the subject of these pages.

From what religious acts, we now have to ask, ought the government of a State to keep its laws clear,—carefully guiding them round such juttings out of the privileged domain of conscience as encroach upon their sweeping jurisdiction, and even breaking through their steadfast course with violent exceptions? Why, to begin with, are we to except *any* class of individual rights from contributing to the good of the community? By what high authority are we to constrain the learned wisdom and practised sagacity of the upright rulers of a free nation, and to say, 'This right is beyond your consideration; to dispute it is treason, and to overrule it tyranny?' Who can forbid the unanimous consent of an enlightened people to establish any restriction whatever upon its members?

Mr. Mill says that he can; because universal experience shows that the development of human nature is best promoted by respecting, even against his will, certain rights in the individual; among which the foremost are those of thinking, speaking, and publishing whatsoever opinion he will. We need not discuss this grand principle, which involves, as Mr. Mill seems justly to conclude, (p. 111,) a repudiation of the doctrine of the Fall. Saving, as all must who argue from the Christian standing-point, the necessity of

first establishing the supremacy of conscience, before the mental faculties can be safely developed, there will be little further difficulty in adopting this statement of the final objects of human life, and, therefore, of human government. But, supposing the principle sound, it affords us no authority to supersede the results of the sincere and deliberate opinion of the rulers of the day. Mr. Mill argues, with the experience of thousands of years before him, that the assumption of certain powers by the bodies politic of the world has proved, and is likely to prove, prejudicial to the perfect development of the species. If his argument commend itself to the judgment of a particular government, well and good. It is very powerful, as most people who are subject to the prejudices of this age will be inclined to admit. But suppose that, in the honest opinion of some representative chamber, the reasoning do not appear conclusive; suppose they draw a clear distinction between the case they have in hand and all others which have been adduced; and, not unmindful of the vast authority arrayed against them, still deem it best to seize the special benefit at a slight risk of the remote advantage,—an advantage so remote and intangible as the ultimate development of their constituents' characters,—are they not bound by their opinion? Assuming, as Mr. Mill does, the honesty of the accusers of Socrates, were they not, for aught that the development theory has to oppose, right in their sentence? What knowledge had they of the dangers of suppressing opinion? We may have gained wisdom from their melancholy example, but why do we condemn them? If we acknowledge no limitation of the authority of government, but such as is founded on the results of experience, we acknowledge no limitation which is not subject to the ever faulty and ever shifting interpretation of human judgment: the rights respected by one age must, on the same principles, be trampled under foot by another; uprightness will not save us, nor conscience secure aught but the stubbornness of bigotry. The fact is, that it is not conclusive argument, but universal assent, which is required for setting up any human right or duty not laid down by the precepts of revelation. The direct path to improvement may be clear to a vigorous intellect, but we cannot begin to talk of tyranny till the rights oppressed are recognised as such by at least the weight of civilized opinion. Fortunately, we do not need Mr. Mill's restriction. We have a limitation of the powers of government founded on a philosophical priority of duty. The Creator who laid in instincts of nature the foundations of the *jus Divinum* of government, impressed also a deep religious sense of right and wrong, and of right and duty thence flowing, which is still traceable throughout

mankind; traceable, but so nearly lost, that the faint lines required to be revived, explained, and enforced, by Holy Scripture. Thus assisted, we possess not only the leading principles of right and wrong, but a vast body of positive institutions of right and obligation ready to our hands, on authority to which the social instinct is supplementary and subordinate. The powers and objects of government are circumscribed within fixed limits, warned from consecrated ground, instructed by examples, governed by settled principles, which give a firm fulcrum to its anxious efforts, and afford an assurance that the edifice reared by the toil of so many generations will be found to rest on something more durable than the shifting sands of human opinion.

We must not be misunderstood as attempting any refutation of Mr. Mill's argument on grounds common to both, or, indeed, a connected consideration of it at all, but only of such parts of it as lie directly in our way. The book which contains it, is a wonderful specimen of the achievements and the failures of pure logic when applied to moral subjects. A great deal of the reasoning would be absolutely conclusive—if we could only be quite sure of the truth of the postulates; but as the conclusions have no exact accordance with observed phenomena, the argument signally fails to carry us back to the truth of the premises. We are obliged to dissent from Mr. Mill's practical limitation of the ends of government; we are at a loss to see of what use his fundamental principle can be,—that every man is lawfully governed only for the benefit of others; and there remain no common grounds upon which to reply to his corollaries. We venture to stand upon the substantial truth of Christianity, as taught by the orthodox Churches in this country, and, in some degree, by the unorthodox also. And we feel secure in doing this; not only because, so far as this proposition goes, we are bigots,—stern, uncompromising, relentless bigots,—but because it is only among nations which profess some belief in Christianity that the thought of religious liberty could be entertained for an instant. It is not of much use to discuss elaborately the powers and duties of the Dey of Tunis; nor do laws which may work smoothly enough among the contending sects in England, always fit, without awkwardness, the case of British India. The latter, indeed, must always claim our deepest interest, as a country for whose welfare we are so intimately responsible; and, of course, whatever principles are of universal application will cover India also: but the relations of a Christian ruler to a heathen people are so abnormal and so delicate, that no mere deductions from the history of the world can be applied to them without

the utmost caution and distrust. Only Divine rules are without exceptions. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, keeps a very bitter contempt in store for those who make such assumptions. 'Persecutors' logic,' he sneers,—“‘I am right, and you are wrong.’” To which it must be said, that if the persecutor deduces his persecution from that elementary proposition, he is a much worse logician than we took him for. In fact, since this premise is in some sense or another adopted by every man, we have only to admit Mr. Mill's *major*, to found a universal right of putting down every opinion but our own. Mr. Mill denies that a man *can be right*; what we do not see is the necessity that, if he be right, he must needs torture those who are wrong. And we submit that our denial is the better preventive.

Emboldened, then, by the conviction that we have ground to stand upon, we lay down the first and fundamental principle of religious liberty; which is, that what God commands men to do, that the government, Christian, Mussulman, or atheistic, must protect them in doing. A principle not very obscure, or newly discovered; a downright truism, in fact, as all fundamental principles come to be, where our knowledge has so far advanced that we can afford to forget them. And yet no truism, but a hot controversial thesis, when we attach to it our Christian bigotry; and say that there are some *known* things which God commands every man to do. On the whole, therefore, within the Christian world, a truth which we may seek to expound and use.

For this principle will carry a great many actions out of the reach of the civil power, besides the religious deeds of good and sensible men, utterly devoted to the service of God. The rule is not narrow—‘These and no others are to be reserved and protected;’ but, ‘These at all events;’ ‘These, though they may drag with them a cumbrous aggregate of other acts and rights, sanctioned by no Divine authority;’ ‘These, up to the point where they are overlaid by so huge a mountain of merely secular or absolutely ungodly and inhuman practices, as to fail altogether of the character of obedience to the declared will of God.’ It is not therefore requisite, in order to the practical enforcement of this rule, that we, or the government formed after our model, should commence with a complete and distinct code of Christian morals and doctrine. We are not bound by this law to keep those morals and that doctrine from adulteration, but to guard them from violent destruction. The presumption is on the side of liberty. It may be right to allow a very gross perversion of religion: it is certainly wrong to suppress a faint form of truth.

And yet there is a clear limitation from the opposite quarter. It is hardly necessary to argue seriously for the position, that to admit every allegation of conscience to this sanctuary would at once destroy society. If the plea were conclusive, every thief and murderer would only have to aver conscience with an unblushing countenance to escape all the penalties of the law. He would not be listened to for a moment. And why? Because the conviction would be overwhelming (in this country) that it was a lie. And in a thousand cases more doubtful, what test could we employ of the truth or falsehood of the pretension? Even when the personal honesty of the claimant is unimpeachable, it is equally obvious that some limit must be put to the licence of the truest and most earnest conscience. Like all other human faculties, conscience is liable, far short of the regions of madness, to wild wandering and grotesque prejudice; unlike all other human faculties is it in the force which it throws into the most eccentric deviations from ordinary habit. A morbid conscience, following on the heels of a weak judgment, is capable of investing the most absurd dogmas and hideous crimes with the superstitious sanction of a sense of duty. Although the elevating power of Protestant Christianity has strengthened in England to an unprecedented degree the broad common-sense of virtue and vice, which is the best preservative against superstition; yet there are warnings enough among the ignorant crowds of our own population to correct any idea that we might safely leave even honest consciences free from all restraint whatever. And in the Empire which has so recently witnessed the suppression of Suttee, it could be predicated of no crime, however monstrous, that it was not committed under the overwhelming sway of the highest motives of duty of which the wretched offender was capable. No. We both put, and must put, the plea of conscience to its proofs; must insist that it shall make out a fair case, show by what sort of interpretation of the revealed will of God it claims the privilege, from what theory of religion it derives its claims; and then only, on thorough satisfaction that the conscience is really striving to render obedience, though imperfectly, to that recognised will, must the plea be admitted as sound.

Upon these limitations two remarks may be made, in reply to possible objections or counter-theories. First, that the exclusion of a conscientious act from this sanctuary of Divine obligation does not involve the assertion that every government may, with the experience of the world before it, recklessly invade and suppress such act. The exclusion only amounts to this,—that we have no principle which, on the ground of *absolute right*,

can remove it from human control. There are many sound maxims of legislation which are established by such obvious reasonableness or such extensive practice, that they must command the judgment of an honest ruler; who is generally, at least, not behind the intelligence of his people, and whose neglect of these maxims would therefore be criminal. But these rules are inductive, and induced from facts mostly metaphysical, from which it is very difficult to evolve universal principles; they partake more of the nature of proverbs than of scientific laws; and, though sanctioned by authority, which, so far as we can see, is likely at no distant period to establish them throughout civilized legislation, yet they stand upon a very different footing from the axiom upon which our theory is based. Secondly, we have, up to this point, at least, no authority for the conventional distinction between things secular and things sacred. As we have before insisted, the conscience governs all alike; and, as the Bible also enforces all by the same authority, we have no power, in establishing principles upon that authority, to make any such severance. We admit the distinction, but refuse the difference. To mark out 'the things that are Cæsar's' from 'the things that are God's' is the very object of our immediate inquiry; but we maintain that the classification must be established by the results of that inquiry, and cannot be laid down *a priori* so as to govern the investigation. If a form of religious worship be so saturated with superstition as to lose all character of obedience to the dictates of the Christian religion, then we know of no more Divine right in its possessors to protection, than in the fanatical Chartist who burns a hayrick. And any special limitation which may be set by an inductive jurisprudence to the relations of the State and the sects comes in afterwards, as we have explained, because it stands on lower ground.

The precise boundary between the lawful and the unlawful fields for the exercise of legislative wisdom is thus left to the honest opinion of the rulers of the day. But in this conclusion we do not at all contradict ourselves, or neutralize our objection to Mr. Mill, who also places the ultimate appeal in that opinion. For there is all the difference possible between leaving to a fallible and often impulsive tribunal the broad question of the general expediency of interference with a conscientious act, and leaving to the same court the narrow issue, whether that act can or cannot be considered, by a favourable interpretation, as a compliance with religious duty. The first gives to the government the powers of a despot unembarrassed by a constitution; the second confines it to the duties of a jury under the direction of the judge. The administration of the border territory of course

creates very little practical embarrassment, inasmuch as the inductive maxims of legislation do extend the freedom of conscience, in most cases, far beyond the point up to which it is covered by the obligation of truth. Thus it might be impossible to bring the assemblies of the Positivists within the pale of Christian obligation. But the experience of persecutions shows us that it would be futile; our modern views of the functions of government persuade us that it is unwise to suppress speculative opinions on the bare ground of their falsehood; and the followers of Comte pursue their course simply because no one thinks it worth while to hinder them. Mischief they may do, indirectly; but the balance of advantage is for letting them alone. Thus, also, a Jesuit may lie his whole life long, and go unpunished; not because his religious scruples would be for an instant respected, but because the law cannot, without doing more harm than good, attempt cognizance of mere falsehood. The same consideration will encourage us in carrying out our principle to its legitimate consequences, notwithstanding that the process may detract from that sanctity which the customs and opinions of modern English society have attached to some conscientious but non-Christian practices. And, thus unfettered, there will be but little difficulty in deciding most of the cases at which we can glance.

But our definition is not yet sufficiently explained. Religious liberty has been said to be the liberty to do or to refrain from doing religious acts. It does not therefore include any right to insist that *other persons* shall do what a man thinks they ought to do. Conscience is supreme within a kingdom of its own; but it must carefully abstain from intervention in the affairs of its neighbours. Mr. Bernal Osborne attained the very height of absurdity, when he declared, in the course of the debate in the House of Commons last Session on the Census Bill, that it was an infringement of religious liberty for one man to ask another (not to enforce an answer, but simply to ask) concerning his religious (not belief, but) profession. People may have conscientious objections to telling their opinions, though it is not easy to see how on any sound principle the objections could in that case claim respect; but they cannot have a conscientious objection to being asked any question under the sun. Still less does religious liberty involve the right to be treated in all respects without any reference to religious opinion or practice. Particular opinions on religious, as well as on secular, subjects may, of their own force, incapacitate men for certain offices or duties; and no man has a right to require that others shall consider his incapacity null, or shall make it void by altering the character of the office or duty, so as to accommodate the conscience

of every possible applicant. A Quaker may establish his claim to refuse an oath by an exaggerated interpretation of some passages of the New Testament. Well and good ; his religious liberty is secured ; he is not forced to do that which his judgment tells him the word of God forbids. He used to be put in prison for the refusal, but that practice is done away with. But it follows by no consequence from the right of religious liberty, that his affirmation should have any more weight attached to it than another man's. The Quaker would doubtless lose money, perhaps more, by his religious scruples. So does every man lose by his religious scruples. The religious man is subject to vast disabilities in the matters of lying, cheating, hard dealing, and other practices. Doubtless, in the long run, the more false a religion is, the more temporal advantages its professors will lose. But this loss bears no character of punishment. The law of evidence was ultimately relaxed to meet this case ; and why ? Because the loss of the Quaker's evidence seriously embarrassed the courts of justice. The oath is only of use because you can believe it, and can punish its violation ; and if the solemn declaration of a Quaker can be treated in the same manner, it answers the same purpose. If it cannot, still the evidence is perhaps better than none. But if the course of English justice necessarily required an oath, the Quaker would have had no claim on the score of religious liberty to be favoured. Could the principles of *civil* liberty be examined, (which here they cannot), it might perhaps be found, that the freedom of a modern civilized State involves the admission of every man to give evidence on the most solemn security which can be obtained from him. But that is a different question. Suppose a man conscientiously objected to coming before a court at all in civil causes, and that we thought it right to admit the objection ;—does any one for a moment suppose that judgment would not be allowed to go against him by default ? that he would not be robbed on all hands, as a consequence, though not as a punishment, of his religious convictions ? The distinction between punishment and incapacity is in this case particularly well shown. To imprison for non-appearance, supposing the conscientious point admitted, would be penalty ; to allow the natural consequences to ensue, only shows a disability. And although, in most cases coming under this head, the advance of legislative science teaches us for the good of the community to put every one as much upon a level as we consistently can ; yet the advance of legislative science is the advance of *civil* liberty ; and there must frequently arise objections of Christian conscience, subjecting the unfortunate victim of misjudgment

to disagreeable results which we cannot possibly obviate. It is not the business of the laws to see to it that no man, believe whatever nonsensical crotchet he may, shall sustain the smallest inconvenience from his opinion. The utmost that can be required of them is that, framed on a Christian basis, they shall pursue their ordinary course, without stepping aside to annoy or impede such eccentric views as may come within toleration, though not within truth. And, this being the principle, in practice it will happen that whenever the good of the community will not be sacrificed thereby, the laws will for their own sake even sweep round the little bays and creeks of out-of-the-way scruples which have no title to consideration in the open sea of truth. But this, we repeat, is a question of *civil*, not *religious*, liberty.

There is one class of disabilities coming into this discussion, which has received so much attention as to deserve special notice. We refer to the qualification of members of Parliament. Little more than thirty years ago, the office of representative of a Parliamentary borough was considered, on grounds of the public safety and advantage, to require the ownership of landed property to the value of £300 a year, and a profession of Protestant Christianity. This generation thinks otherwise; but the ancients were solemnly of that opinion, and it is a fair and open question, depending upon a good deal of historical and other knowledge. But a great many persons have set up, and do still set up, the theory, that this latter requirement was an infringement of the religious liberty of all whom it precluded from the office, (or else, of all who could not have satisfied the requirement, whether they desired office or not;—it is not quite clear which). The theory should have been made complete by the assertion, that the property qualification was equally a breach of civil liberty. This is just an instance of the attempt to make one man's opinion subject to another man's conscience. Because some people hold *tolerable* religious views, which yet do not bring them up to the standard which the community thinks necessary for a direct legislator, therefore the whole community is held to be invading the religious liberty of those persons, because it declines to alter its test! Is it forcing any man to commit a sin, or to omit a duty, to say that he shall not be a member of Parliament unless he be fit? Does God command any man to be a member of Parliament? The fact is, that the natural civil consequences, flowing from a conscientious disability, are questions of civil liberty. We abide by our definition. Religious liberty requires that society should protect, not from all conceivable consequences, but from impediment and penalty; and so long as the laws look,

not to the suppression of the religious acts, (which they admit to be of moral obligation, and, by necessary consequence, not detrimental to public good,) but solely to their grand object, the public good itself, they can be charged with no breach of religious liberty.

Another important distinction also flows from our position, that religious liberty is our right to do or to refrain from certain acts, and not that other people shall do or refrain from anything except the hindering and punishing of us.

In all free countries, at least,—perhaps in all countries,—the State is only the combination of all its members. The action of government is the algebraical sum of the actions of the citizens;—so many for, so many against;—the resulting superiority of influence determining the momentum of the State Act; which is thus contributed to by all, even the minority. All pull in different directions, and the consequence is, that the whole machine moves in some definite line. The utmost control, therefore, which the conscience of an individual citizen possesses in the action of the State, is over his own pull. Over that, indeed, it is absolutely despotic; and any refinements of philosophical theory, tending to withdraw the least portion of the influence which a man exercises in the State from the dominion of his conscience, are so many rebellions against its Divine supremacy. The man who announces that his religion is kept off from his politics, has very poor ground for claiming that the politics of others shall keep off from his religion. We thus divide the relations of the citizens to the State into two classes. He is both ruler and subject. His acts are acts of command, or acts of obedience. The former include his whole influence on public affairs, direct or indirect; though of course the acts of command which come under legal consideration are comparatively few,—consisting in this country principally of voting. And our conclusion is, that the religious liberty of the individual demands nothing of the State, except that it should refrain from persecuting him,—from interposing hindrances to, or imposing penalties for, his doing the will of God. The State may transgress the fundamental principles of the Constitution, set at nought the most settled maxims of jurisprudence, and bid defiance to every rule of right and wrong, without infringing one inch upon the *terra sancta*. The conscience of the State is the conscience of all; not of one, or many, or even the majority, but of all. And the responsibility of the wrong acts of the State rests on the whole, (as the Old Testament plainly teaches us, even in the case of Eastern despotisms,) and not on the individual, who is only responsible for the right use of his own influence. Thus it can be no infringe-

ment of religious—however incompatible it may be deemed with civil—liberty, for the State to endow any number of Church establishments, or not to endow any at all; to provide for public religious, or irreligious, education, or to neglect all such provision; to engage in a wrongful and oppressive war, or to decline a just and necessary one; or, in fact, to do any right or wrong thing whatsoever. If the strongest party in the State think the public act wrong, they ought not to have allowed it; if only the minority, they are not individually responsible.

It is easy to recall instances in which, for want of adverting to this natural and necessary distinction, and by holding themselves personally responsible for what they considered the crime of the State, men have entailed upon themselves and the nation much perplexity, and even much suffering. We will go back a century or two for one example, and take another from our own times.

The persevering men who kept alive for more than half a century the claims of the Stuart pretenders to the English throne, might almost, without doing much violence to the word, bear the title of a *sect*. The most powerful motives of the members of a sect are not always religious; and surely if a practical zeal and heroic martyrdom for rights founded on an interpretation of Scripture can make a title to theological heresy, the non-jurors and the Highlanders of the '45 suffered and died in the cause of conscience. But they assuredly did not die in the cause of religious liberty. Charles Edward was still *de jure* King of England, and to him they owed allegiance. But they forgot, that if he was not *de facto* King, it was not their wrong-doing, but the State's; and that if he was to come back again, it must be by the act, not of their personal or partizan consciences, but by the State authority. They might pay to the King *de jure* the allegiance necessary to a King *de jure*, provided that they also gave to the King *de facto* the allegiance necessary to a King *de facto*. Of course, in that age, the State was hardly recognised as an independent existence; and we cannot wonder that the zealots who believed the *jus Divinum* of monarchy should have loose notions of the extent of the obligation of individual conscience, and the right of resistance.

But, after the discussions and contests of the last half-century, we have a right to expect that more pains should be taken to discriminate between the act of the citizen and the act of the State, than some of our active politicians seem disposed to take. The government of Lord Palmerston proposed, as is well known, some time ago, to ask every man in England to which of the well-known religious sects he professed to belong, or whether he

professed adherence to no sect all; and they thought to insist upon an answer. A loud outcry was raised, and both the question and the penalty were abandoned by their unconvinced promoters. It was said that the question, but especially the fine, were derogations from the rights of conscience. We have nothing to do with the propositions that it was not a wise thing for government to interfere in the matter, or that the returns would lead to fallacious conclusions and unsound legislation; although a dread of the latter seems to have been the real backbone of the opposition. We have simply to ask what the conscientious objection was. Was it that any Englishman, not to say Christian, would think it wrong to tell generally to what sect he belonged? (The question, we must remember, was not of *belief*, though that could hardly affect its decision.) Was it *not* that many excellent Christians thought it wrong to tell the government; that is, that the government ought not to know or to inquire? Was it not that somebody would be forcing them to do that which the word of God—not forbade, but rather enjoined? Was it not a decision on the right or wrong act of the government, and not of the citizen? Who ever said, or could bring himself to say, that, in telling his most intimate theological opinion to any man on earth, he would be doing a thing which God forbade him to do? Upon what view, upon what detached fragment of Holy Scripture, could any such whim find standing room? And if it could not, what claim would the victims of such a whim have, forcibly to inoculate the whole State with the poison of their own morbid consciences, which we should not allow to the first Jew who demanded that, for the sake of his religious scruples, the breeding of pigs should be declared illegal? We abide by our definition; and, while we insist on the duty of all to use legitimate means, (which do not include sophistical arguments, or the abuse of popular phrases,) to guide the State as they think right; let not the men who succeeded in coercing a government they could not persuade, again think it worth while to embarrass argument by complaints about their consciences.

We have divided the acts of a citizen into two classes; and shown that his *ruling* acts aggregate with the ruling acts of his fellows into our common State act, for which the nation is morally responsible. But there is a kind of actions which partakes so much of the characters of both classes that it requires separate treatment. The ruling acts we have described as influencing the *decision* of the State. But the State has two functions, legislative and executive. It must not only will, but do. Now the State is an abstraction, without hands and feet.

What do we mean, then, by saying that the State acts? Just this,—that some of its members act under the authority and direction of the whole. They act on behalf of some one else, that is, the State, and not in their own character. Their doings are the doings of the State; and the citizens are in these things nothing more than machines, divested of all moral responsibility whatever. So long as the State has authority wherewith to clothe them, with that authority they are clothed. They are, if one may so speak, for the particular purpose, the incarnation of the State. The State is their soul, their will, their personality: they are nothing but minds and muscles. The man, therefore, who is occupied in carrying out the national will is, in one sense, performing an act of government; but on the face of things he is merely obeying the State's commands. What, then, is to prevent the rule of religious liberty from attaching to these acts? Why is the direct command of God, not to do a thing which a man's enlightened conscience tells him to be an unjust and wrong thing, to be superseded by the authority of government? Submission to government is, doubtless, enjoined by Holy Scripture; but it stands on no higher footing than the other commandments. We say government has no right to make a man do that which he believes the word of God to forbid. And now, we say, that there are many things which a man may or must do, although his judgment tells him that they are forbidden. How is this? We have first given the answer, and then asked the question; it only remains to illustrate the theory by example.

Sir Roger Bluff is colonel of the 199th Foot, and possesses a vote for the county of Middlesex. Lord Palmerston appeals to the country on his Chinese policy. Sir Roger holds a strong idea that the English have no business in China at all, and that a spirited policy may be that of an evil spirit. He votes and canvasses for the Conservative candidate. Perhaps he stands himself, and makes a withering speech in the House. But trade and the spirit of nationality are too strong for him; and he accompanies into the lobby a small but uncompromising minority. His regiment is ordered for service. What must he do? If he go to fight the Chinamen, he will do that which his conscience plainly teaches him to be contrary to every precept of Christian morality. He goes as the right hand of tyranny, the sword of oppression,—at least, so he thinks. And yet he must go; and we do not condemn him for not leaving the service; simply because his killing would be no murder,—his acts would no more carry with them a personal morality than the arms of a telegraph.

Mr. Tomkins is a Manchester elector of staunch Protestant principles. He believes the endowment of Maynooth to be a national sin, which brings down the indignation of heaven upon England. He also dislikes the Chinese war. Yet the State has decreed it, and the tax-collector calls. Now if Parliaments are the brains of the State, then certainly taxes are its muscles; by whose contraction or extension movements the most convulsive may sometimes be communicated to its joints,—the officials. Tomkins asks himself what he is going to do. It is his duty to pay money to support the Papacy? What will his conscience say to that? If it disapprove, the first thing he must do is to draw up a document of this kind:—

'Estimates for the year (say)	60,000,000
Grant to Maynooth	30,000
Roman Catholic Chaplains (say)	10,000
Chinese war (estimated at)	5,000,000
Spirit duties (which are drawn from the vices of the people, and therefore ought not to be taken) (say)	9,960,000
Total amount wrongfully raised and spent	15,000,000
Remainder, lawful account	<u><u>£45,000,000</u></u>

Entire taxes on Tomkins (say) £40 per annum.

Amount therefore which Tomkins can lawfully pay to the State
:40::45::60.

Sum to be paid on demand, therefore, £30.

Sum for which government must distrain, or send Tomkins to
jail, £10.'

Of course, the difficulty of carrying out this process on all occasions has nothing whatever to do with the principle of the thing. Each Society would assist its members in the calculation; the Protestant Alliance Circular striking off a farthing in the pound for Maynooth; the Peace Society and the Carlton Club joining to recommend a deduction of fivepence against the war; and so on.

This may seem trifling; but it is only the legitimate result of principles which are seriously maintained at the present day. It is by no means a universally received axiom, that the morality of a tax lies not with the payer, but with the raiser and distributor. And very few realize the necessary conclusion, that, if it be otherwise, the turn of a halfpenny would make the difference between a compromise of conscience and a resistance to lawful authority,

—between sin and rebellion. The parish is, for certain purposes, a little State, deriving its authority from the great one. The vestry and parishioners stand to one another in the relation of State and citizens, and are governed by the same laws. Therefore, when the parish decrees a tax for the maintenance of the parish church, it performs a parish act,—an act for which the parish is responsible, and not the parishioner. And when the ratepayer is asked for the rate, of what nature is his act? Is it individual, or executory of the parish decree? In what respects does it differ from the payment of the Manchester elector? There is no more certainty about the application in the one case than in the other. Every taxpayer pays a proportion of every expense. If I keep a dog, he helps to support Maynooth. If we were to quibble about this, we might as well quibble about the coin at once, and say that, because the church-rate collector gets gold for his shillings at the grocer's shop, therefore the ratepayer pays the grocer and not the Church. The fact is, he pays neither, but the parish; and to charge the application upon the payer involves absurdities of the grossest kind.

The raising of taxes, then, and all other executive acts of government, are chargeable upon the State only. The handing over of a sum of money is a transaction between payer and receiver, and only carries a responsibility to see to the application of the money when the payment is a mere voluntary act, not when it is an obligation,—such as a debt, or a tax. The State has authority to impose the tax, and the creditor to enforce the debt; and the debtor must no more consider the known destination of the tax, than he might refuse to pay the creditor who expressly informed him that the money was particularly wanted for purchasing votes. Nor can we fix the tax-collector with the responsibility; nor the churchwarden; nor the secretary of the Treasury,—or whatever exalted official he be,—who signs the cheque to the treasurer of Maynooth College. We have shown to what ridiculous conclusions the contrary opinion would lead. But this is not all. If it were ever so practicable and reasonable, the citizen has no *right* to set his conscience in judgment over what is really the act of the State. The deed cannot be ruled by two consciences, and the clerk or ratepayer must remember that his individual conscience is governed by God, who also ordained the powers that be.

These questions of the day have been introduced, not to be discussed, but in order to show that they do not come under our discussion. Religious liberty is the liberty of the *individual* to do, or not to do. Church-establishments, church-rates, war, education, censuses, and all such things, must stand or fall on

the broad grounds of right and wrong, or the almost equally broad grounds of expediency and science. We shovel them all out of our way, and proceed to illustrate our principle by such applications as our space will allow. These applications we may classify under two heads,—adopting gladly here the conventional distinction between moral and religious duties which, as a fundamental difference, we so earnestly reprobate and deny.

The religious obligation must be founded, for all practical purposes, upon Revelation; for although, as a matter of definition, we have included the authority of natural religion, yet it is impossible to deduce from that authority any specific duties beyond those which are more definitely confirmed by the Holy Scriptures. In fact, natural religion consists of imperfect moral qualities,—sincerity, benevolence, honesty, and so forth,—which are of common and unwritten duty; whereas, for our purpose, we are in want of positive statutes, which may be obviously kept or broken. Divine Revelation, then, enforces duties to our fellow-creatures, and duties to God. The specific moral duties are summed up in the Commandments, which, though expounded, are not much increased, if at all, by the New Testament. It is, therefore, a tolerably complete view of this branch of the subject, to say that the law must cause no man to transgress the Second Table. Nor does there appear to be any danger of such tyranny in any of the more civilized European States. An unfortunate Neapolitan, or Roman, may be forced to bear false witness; but the codes of the West generally recognise the Christian morality, and the English common law is even said to include it. Our questions are rather of duties to God. And what are these, so far as they are tangible by the civil power?

1. Men must believe the Bible. So far, therefore, as a man's opinions are due to his interpretation of Scripture, they are protected by the principles of religious liberty. It is a mistake to say that thought and opinion are necessarily free. Of course, no one can alter another's belief by any violent treatment. Opinion cannot be prevented or forced. But the alternative may be put of falsehood or punishment; and punishment is as repugnant to liberty as prevention.

2. Believing the Bible, Christians must spread and publish that belief, which involves the right of writing and preaching the doctrines of the Christian religion, or any system of doctrines *bonâ fide* and rationally, if not reasonably, derived from the word of God. And,

3. On the authority of the Bible, and also as a consequence of the right of holding and publishing opinions, religious liberty requires the licence to form associations and organizations for

preserving and spreading the doctrines of the Bible, and for other benevolent purposes thereby directed; together with all the protection and assistance which the law gives to private societies in carrying out the terms by which their members bind themselves to each other. Religious bodies come under the eye of the State in two ways,—in respect of their relations to non-members and the State generally, and of the relations existing among their own members. To the former class belong questions of mortmain, of the tenure of Church property, of the existence of the sect itself. The latter involve the nature of Churches, as viewed by the State.

The simple suppression of religious societies does not seem likely to disturb our future legislation. It is found that such suppression, though it may remove a particular development of heresy or immoral teaching, does not eradicate the poison which produced it. Perhaps most sects might be persecuted to annihilation, but their members would not thereby be brought to the truth; and as they must, or will, believe something, a new religion is called into existence to meet the constant demand for superstition. Expel the unclean spirit, and sweep the house clear of him; but if it remain empty, it is only garnished for the dwelling of seven other spirits more wicked than the first. And now that Roman Catholics and Jews sit in Parliament, it would be somewhat inconsistent to enforce the theory, that the religious practices which do not disqualify for making, incapacitate for obeying, the laws of the land. The Latter-Day Saints are not yet respectable enough to send a sectary of their own to the Legislature; but before many years have elapsed we may expect that the last rags of intolerance will have been swept away, and that a Mormonite in the House of Commons, and an intelligent Thug in the Indian Council, will have full scope for the display of that sound discretion and enlightened patriotism which their respective theological opinions are so well calculated to instil. However, it is not the probable extent, but the rights, of sufferance that we have to consider. And it is not difficult to see, that the Jewish and Mormonite sects can claim no exemption. There are two tests exacted at the door of the asylum of religious liberty. The applicant must plead the authority of Scripture, and the plea must be adjudged rational. Now, neither the Jew nor the Latter-Day Saint pleads Scripture. The Jew rejects the authority of a large portion; the Mormonite superadds another book as of equal authority. It does not follow, that every meeting held for worship by an apostle from Utah could lawfully be suppressed. That proposal would require us to determine, first, whether

it were the meeting of a religious sect at all. If not, the preacher must be judged by himself. If it were, it must be inquired, whether the conventicle claimed the full authority of the standard theology of the sect, or were only a preliminary meeting, assembled under the letter of Scripture, with the ulterior intention of introducing unawares the Mormon doctrine; which last resolution would probably bring it under the exception of fraud before reserved. The preaching of polygamy would, of course, be intolerable, because it is not possible to found it on scriptural command. Even if the Bible permitted the practice, it certainly does not enjoin it. And it is only sects which publish tolerable doctrines that are tolerable sects. Nothing but calm inquiry into the facts will decide all these particular cases; and, as their suppression would be bad policy, the decision is of no practical importance. The Roman Catholic *worship* may, perhaps, make out a certain scriptural character. But it does not follow that every other practice of that Church can sustain the same demand. The sanctity of the confessional is no exercise of religious liberty. Supposing the text about confessing one to another to be admitted as possibly affording ground for an ecclesiastical ordinance, the confessional would not be put down; but the priest might be forced to tell its secrets. A few months ago, a Roman Catholic priest was required to say, in the witness-box, from whom he received a watch. He declined, pleading that the watch was given in confession, and was very justly, though some think unwisely, punished. There is no Divine authority whatever even *pleaded* for withholding the information.

Church property has very little concern with this subject. Sects have a right, as voluntary societies, to set apart, under the direction of the laws, buildings and money for ecclesiastical purposes, so long as these purposes, coming within the principle of toleration, are not unlawful. But the laws of property are to so large an extent the artificial creatures of the State, that a sect can hardly complain of any restrictions in this respect which are intended for the direct benefit of the community, and not for persecution. The law, having the entire disposition of property after the death of its owner, may confine his power of bequeathing it to any objects, it thinks fit. Still more may it take all possible precautions that estates shall not go into mortmain, except under the very clearest and most deliberate will of the former possessor. The authority which at one time prohibited almost every alienation of land, could, even now, without infringing upon religious liberty, refuse to acknowledge the fiction of corporations, or the artifice of trustees, and thus ordain that, while any persons might club together their

goods for a common religious purpose, yet no man should be empowered to attach such employment to his possessions for ever. Property is essentially civil in its nature; it bears the image and superscription of Cæsar; and religious liberty can only require that the existing laws shall be applied *bond fide* to protect the property of ecclesiastical, as well as of secular, societies.

When a private society brings its internal disputes before a court of law, that court must first know the nature of the bond by which the society is held together,—the standing of its members one towards another. The disputants do not come for the application of general law, but for the interpretation of a special code of their own making, which code each member is construed to have solemnly agreed to keep. But it is not all such agreements or codes which the law permits. The rules of a society, if they are to be enforced by the law, must be supplementary, and not contrary to that law. For certain advantages each member may surrender his rights; but he cannot surrender his duties. The purposes of a society must be purposes lawful in each member; and they may be *any* purposes lawful in each member. Toleration requires that the religious purposes and institutions professedly founded on a rational construction of Scripture, being lawful for all the members, are lawful for the sect; and is thus founded on religious liberty. What other foundation can it have? Religious liberty declares the purposes of a Christian Church to be lawful individual rights. Toleration recognises the rules of the Church as compounded of the rights of its members to obey the Bible, admits the lawfulness of their contract, and freely interprets it. What all may do, that all may do in common. It follows that every Church comes before the State, when it comes at all, as a voluntary society for carrying out the objects and directions of the Bible; and that, for the purposes of toleration, every sect, professing and admitted to be a society established in obedience to the New Testament, is a Church.

Free-Church writers on the Cardross case seem, if their meaning be correctly apprehended, strongly to dissent from this view of things. The State and the Church, say they, are two independent bodies of co-ordinate jurisdictions, separate duties, and altogether diverse modes of procedure. The State, having the Bible before it, knows what the Church is,—knows that in it are certain offices, duties, and orders spiritual, subject only to Christ as the Head, and to the General Assembly as the hands, of the Church. From questions, therefore, involving this spiritual jurisdiction, let the State keep clear,—protecting the temporalities of the Church, and remitting all discussion on

spiritual offices to the Church courts. Now let us see to what conclusions these doctrines will lead. The State, since it is to know what the Church is, must define the Church. Interpreting the New Testament, it must say how much organization, how much orthodoxy in doctrine, what offices, what sacraments, what jurisdictions, are essential to a Christian Church. And then it must examine the ecclesiastical polity of every sect which happens to come before it, and determine whether that polity fulfils the requisites or not. And it must have two systems of toleration, one for real Churches, and another for mere sects. Is this the province of the State? Could we submit to the House of Commons, or the Court of Queen's Bench, our title to membership in that great confederation, the Catholic Church of Christ? And yet, on any other plan, how can the theory we object to be carried out? The Free Church of Scotland comes before the Court of Session. In what capacity? 'We are the Church of Christ, or at any rate a branch of it. These officers of our Church are the Ministers of Christ, invested by His Divine authority with a spiritual office which does not lie within your circumspection.' That is the plea. How is it to be supported? The Roman Catholic Church may come before the same court, and say the same thing. Is the court to say, 'I know that the one claim is sound and the other not?' Is the judge, on receiving the latter plea, to pronounce, without hearing the other side, or allowing cross-examination, 'I know that to be false, and refuse it accordingly?' And if this were admitted to be self-evident, or deducible from the obvious spirit of the Constitution and laws, what could be said to the Society of Friends, if it confronted its accuser with a similar allegation? In a word,—are the Lords of Session to decide in their own minds what constitutes a true branch of the Church of Christ, and then, by examination of documents and witnesses, to decree whether the particular sect is or is not such a branch; or is the court to ascertain merely whether the sect in question professes, with any show of reason, to be a religious society under the provisions of the New Testament; and, if it does so profess, then simply to administer its own internal rules? In the former case, of what value will the decree be? in the latter, what difficulty can practically arise? The fact is, that the Scotchmen are talking of *the* Church, and we are talking of *a* Church. Our points of view are different. Standing within the doors of the cathedral, impressed by its sacred associations, and conscious of the presence of God, the Churchman looks with a suspicious eye on the cold, stern temple of justice on the opposite hill, and cries, '*Abeste profani!*' But the temple

porticoes command a wider prospect; their dwellers see not alone the towering church in front, but the classic Grecian edifice by its side, the four-walled barn down the valley, and the cottage smoke among the trees. From all there is equal access to its courts, and for all equal rights. *The Church* is founded upon the *duty* of every man to join himself to it,—a duty of which the State can take no knowledge. *Churches* are founded upon the *right* of every man to join whichever sect he most approves,—a right which the State must and does protect.

But what advantage, we repeat, results, for the purposes of toleration, from the attempted classification into Churches and sects? The State only forms opinions when it needs to act upon them. It is not, like a thoughtful man, anxious to frame complete theories of the world and the Church for the mere sake of their completeness. And there is no right or jurisdiction necessary to the Christian Church which is not fully secured by the view we have taken. For when the terms of the contract under which the complaining sectary appeals to the law come to be examined, it is found that but a small portion of them appears on paper. Some sects have a written constitution nearly complete; some, only certain standards of belief and signed declarations. But every contract is to be determined by the clear understanding of the parties who enter into it; and, when those parties are an educated Scotchman and an orthodox and organized Scotch Church, their general intention cannot be obscure. Every society notoriously established on a particular reading of the directions of the New Testament constitutes that reading a part of its mutual contract. And on an obvious principle of law, every neophyte, entering with notice of the established usages and principles of a Society, is bound by them. If, however, in spite of all such interpretation, it appears that a body of religionists have no mutual understanding or contract on a point essential to the character of a true branch of Christ's Church, then we maintain that such a body is no Church of Christ at all. A sect which does not pledge itself and all its members to orthodox doctrine, sacraments, and a final jurisdiction in spiritual things is not a complete Church. It is the business of the law to allow the Church to secure its own existence. The civil power can have no authority to declare a jurisdiction in spiritual matters to be final which the *ci-devant* Church has not so declared; or else Christ's kingdom would be of this world.

Under this view let us look at the Cardross case. Mr. McMillan, Free Church Minister of Cardross, was convicted by the Presbytery of Dumbarton on some charges of immorality,

and acquitted on others. The Synod of Ayr quashed the convictions on appeal. The General Assembly, or Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, when appealed to by the Presbytery, took cognizance not only of the reversed sentences, but of the entire original accusation; and suspended Mr. M'Millan from his charge. Mr. M'Millan applied to the Judge of the Court of Session, to prohibit the Presbytery from carrying the sentence into effect; on the ground that, by the constitution of the Church, the Assembly could only consider the decisions appealed from. On hearing of this application, the Assembly summoned the delinquent to its bar, and, upon a simple 'yes or no,' deposed him from the ministry. The standards of the Church, they said, forbade any such application in any case. Mr. M'Millan brought two actions in the Court of Session, asking for the reversal of those two sentences. The Court required the Assembly to produce its sentences. The Assembly at first refused, and then consented; under protest that, in doing so, they acknowledged no right in the Court of Session to review or reverse the judgments, but merely produced them as historical documents. The Court now asks for further evidence of the contract. It is perfectly clear, that in this case the civil court is asked to reverse an ecclesiastical sentence. It is asked to say that Mr. M'Millan is still a clergyman of the Free Church. It has nothing to do with his being a Minister of Jesus Christ. And the simple question is, whether the professed deposition was a real deposition, whether Mr. M'Millan was deposed from his office by an authority competent to depose him. What is the contract, the acknowledged understanding among the members of that Church? Now if there is one thing clear in the whole case, it is this,—that the office of clergyman itself, its qualifications, the admission to it and exclusion from it, the modes, and grounds, and forms, and judges of admission or exclusion, are confessedly the creatures of that particular Society. It only remains, therefore, to inquire whether this office, those modes, forms, grounds, and judges are all fixed and unalterable by the Society or its courts, bound down by an iron constitution, the infringement of which, by any power whatever, releases the contract. Is there no authority within the Church which can make a new regulation, or alter a form of procedure? And we have a complete reply in the declaration signed by Mr. M'Millan himself, which includes this clause:—"I promise that I—to the utmost of my power shall—assert, maintain, and defend the said doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Church by Kirk-Session, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, together with the *liberty* and *exclusive jurisdiction* thereof." In the mouth of a Free

Church Minister, at least, there can be no doubt of the meaning of 'exclusive jurisdiction.' What, indeed, can those words mean unless they exclude appeal to any other court? 'Except on matters of form,' says Mr. M'Millan. But to what other matters could they refer? Of course, if a series of special courts is appointed to try a certain class of causes, facts and all, it must be because there is to be some speciality either in the forms or in the facts. No one can maintain that the four courts in the Church and the three out of it,—Kirk-Session, Presbytery, Synod, Assembly, Outer and Inner Courts of Session, House of Lords,—are an ascending series to try a question of fact. The facts here are such as could very well come within the cognizance of an ordinary court; they are simple accusations of immorality. Nor would it be impossible for a civil court to adjudge a question even of heresy, with the standards of the Church and the heresy complained of before its eyes. The fact is, that the grand reason why Church courts exist at all is, because they will not be bound by the rules of procedure of the civil. They are not tied by the truth or falsehood of a charge, as a judge and jury take it; the rules of evidence which save the State might ruin the Church; they exert powers of interrogation, and claim authority perfectly arbitrary. Forms of procedure constitute the *differentia* of an ecclesiastical court. 'Exclusive jurisdiction' can have no meaning if it involve no exclusive jurisdiction in forms of procedure. If the procedure in a Church court be not a 'spiritual matter,' what is? It is not necessary to decide where within the Church the authority on such points lies; all we know is, that if the jurisdiction of the Church courts be *exclusive*, it is exclusive of the jurisdiction of the civil courts. The system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction depends upon forms of procedure: every ecclesiastical system must have a supreme authority somewhere by which its constitution may grow: that supreme authority has the exclusive jurisdiction over the alteration of and sole cognizance of the departure from these forms. And if all this were obscure, surely the controversies of the Disruption would sufficiently show what the Church means by the 'exclusive jurisdiction' for which it yielded so much. It may be added, that the General Assembly utterly denies the informality complained of.

The real danger of a decision in Mr. M'Millan's favour arises from a tendency in the judges (some of whom seem to be not altogether free from party feeling) to refuse the interpretation which is put by the character of the Church upon its formulæ, and even to treat the distinct pledge in no case to appeal on ecclesiastical points to a civil court as an unlawful stipulation.

This is where the principle of toleration comes in. It is an intelligible and reasonable view of the New Testament, to say that the clerical office, and even the membership of the Church, require qualifications and depend upon considerations of which the State is no judge, and that therefore the whole jurisdiction in these matters must be left entirely to the established officers of the Church. If, therefore, such a view seems to be the standard view of the Free Church of Scotland, that view is a part of its contract with Mr. M'Millan. Notoriously, the General Assembly is the sole arbiter of the point, and therefore sole judge of the fact, whether Mr. M'Millan be clergyman of Cardross or not; and if its clerk tell the court that he is not, the statement—barring fraud—is final.

On the same principle of contract are decided the cases in which the expelled members of sects have brought actions against the officers of the sects for libel. When a man enrolls himself in a voluntary society, he subscribes his character to be bound by the regulations of the society,—it belongs to the common stock. So much for any moral stigma which expulsion may entail. As for the mere social status often acquired by membership, that is, in its very nature, the property of the whole; like the pecuniary emoluments, it is worn, and not possessed, during the period of membership, and of course is put off by retirement or deprivation. Besides, in most of those cases, an express bar of such actions is found in the rules of the sect.

This general view of the nature of Churches concludes our survey of the field swept by our principle of religious liberty.

And here we must stop; without attempting to discuss the authority or limits of those maxims of scientific jurisprudence which allow to mistaken belief a far wider toleration than abstract principles can give. The tendency of modern opinion seems to be rapidly extending the licence of honest and dishonest error; nor does our principle oppose any resistance to the extension. But if we are to claim toleration on any ground higher than expediency, we must rest it on some such theory as has been here laid down. We know no other *religious* reason for religious liberty; and can admit no merely speculative views of the rights of conscience to supersede or control the authority of the Bible. For such views, so far as they are not built upon obvious induction from facts, are capable of no test of truth; and, however plausible, command rather admiration than assent.

The last book mentioned in our heading is an instance of an ingenious attempt to build up a system of rights and duties on the basis of 'moral relationships.' We owe duties to God as our Creator, duties to men as our fellow-men, duties to govern-

ment as a convention of our own. Every natural relationship appears to carry a moral relationship with it of its own force; and the author only seems to have omitted from his consideration the moral duties which arise out of our natural relationship to our fellow-creature—the devil. All this will not do. We explicitly deny all duties other than those laid down by our Creator. Our duties to men flow from His command; our moral affections towards them are placed there by Him; government is derived from His authority; and the civil magistrate is His vicegerent. The fact is, our author has assumed that, in order to meet his opponents on their own ground, he will travel best without his Bible; and has forgotten that he is on the enchanted ground of speculative philosophy; that the prince of this world erected for the repose of the unwary that comfortable arbour in which he slept; and that he must drag back his steps for many a weary mile, ere he can regain the precious roll which alone will guide him into the Celestial City of Truth.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Daughters of India: their Social Condition, Religion, Literature, Obligations, and Prospects.* By the REV. EDWARD JEWITT ROBINSON. Glasgow: Murray and Son.
2. *The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. Report.* 1860.
3. *The Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India. Report.* 1860.
4. *The Female Society of the Free Church of Scotland for Promoting the Christian Education of the Females of India. Report.* 1860.
5. *The Ladies' Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries, Female Education, &c. Occasional Papers.*
6. *Education Despatch of July 19th, 1854.* By SIR CHARLES WOOD.
7. *Education Despatch of July 7th, 1859.* By LORD STANLEY.
8. *Correspondence relating to the Education Despatch of 1854. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, February 12th, 1858.*
9. *Ditto, Ditto, ordered ditto, August 11th, 1859.*
10. *The Central School Commission for the Instruction of the Population of Ceylon. Report.* 1856-7.
11. *Reports of several Protestant Missionary Societies.* 1860.

To the sympathies of English people India is the most popular of foreign lands. This age may be said, by a very painful process, to have re-discovered that country; and curious inquiry is now diving into every nook and corner of its social life. Soldiers, statesmen, and *savans* have furnished a plentiful supply of books for the purpose; and the manifold administration of the government, and the literature and philosophies of India, have been freely discussed; sometimes in a partial, but often in a masterly, manner. 'Our Correspondent' has contributed his share. His opinions have won respect in high places, and his acknowledged influence has extorted, in behalf of the estate of which he is a member, courtesies which are a new thing in India. But, excepting only ancient travellers, the Missionary is our oldest friend. To him we are indebted for almost all we know of the popular superstitions, the social and domestic life, of our Indian empire. It was the Missionary whose letters interested or whose speeches thrilled us; whose graphic narratives, of tongue or pen, filled our young minds with information as to how the Hindus lived, and what they worshipped. His interesting tales, of pity or of horror, are an ineffaceable remembrance, engraven in our minds as 'with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever.' We retain much of our early relish for all this, and still turn to the Missionaries as our oldest and most competent caterers of Eastern information.

Mr. Robinson is an accomplished author, in the ordinary sense; but he possesses special qualifications for producing a good book on Indian topics. He served an apprenticeship among the Hindus of North and East Ceylon; and being at that time 'a reverend bachelor,' with a thoughtful turn of mind, he improved his opportunities by taking notes for the goodly volume which now lies before us. This kind of literature would be greatly enriched if the Missionaries generally followed the example of our author; jotting down at the time, and before familiarity had made them common, those manners and customs of the Asiatics which strike by their novelty. Mr. Robinson has brought to his subject a keen observation, considerable research, and, what is less common in such books, an attractive style. Reading and observation have made him a full man, and much practice in writing has made him exact. As to complete and trustworthy information, and attractions of style, there is not, as far as we are aware, the equal of this book in our language. It is unique in its subject, excellent in its execution, and most seasonable in its appearance. If the work has any fault, it is that of excessive condensation; but a fault which authors, with all their faults, so seldom commit, may be

forgiven. Here is compressed an amount of matter which would have respectably furnished a volume twice its size; and not unfrequently important information is given in a graceful allusion, implying, on behalf of readers, an acquaintance with the subject which may possibly be found in India, but which English people generally do not possess.

Mr. Robinson must, however, forgive us one other word. He wields a keen weapon, and sometimes needs to restrain the sharpness of criticism. With reference to pp. 265, 266,—and we designedly select an extreme passage,—we might ask, Is there a sufficient cause? Candour compels the confession that we know of none; and we have lived in India, and taken practical interest in female education in that country. Our author gives his 'hints' with a vengeance. But he loves this cause too much to pen a line or a letter to its prejudice; he is the last man who would discourage the noble women who are about to embark, or are already engaged, in it; and we trust that, in a second edition, (which we hope the work will soon reach,—with pictorial illustrations, we beg leave to suggest,) he will rid the text of some of those obnoxious adjectives which bristle like the porcupine, and pierce like its quills. But, having dealt candidly with its faults, which are but trifling spots in the fair disc of this attractive volume, we give *The Daughters of India* the strongest recommendation in our power.

There are from seventy to eighty millions of women in our Indian empire. What is their social and religious condition, and what are their prospects with regard to Christian education? These important questions are very fully answered by our author, from personal observation, or the credible testimony of others. In five-and-twenty interesting chapters, of which we shall not attempt any analysis, he traces the fate of the daughter of India, from her unwelcomed birth to her unwept exit from the world, by infanticide, suttee, or miserable age. Not of her were sung those touching lines:—

'On parent knees, a naked, new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, whilst all around thee *smiled*:
So live that, sinking on thy last long sleep,
Thou then may'st smile, whilst all around thee *weep*.'

A child is born. 'Girl or boy?' 'Nothing,' the Rajput would say, if the infant was a daughter. The author relates the following about his own native servants. 'Why is Pedru pulling such a long face to-day?' 'His child is born, Sir.' 'Then congratulate him, and tell him to make himself merry.'

'It is a daughter, Sir.' We know the parties, and vividly picture to ourselves poor Pedru's elongated face. It is a girl. The bewildered father begins to speculate about her future marriage. He sees, looming in the distance, the extortions of match-makers, and the dowry he must perforce provide. The dowry system which prevails among the Hindus of North Ceylon, is one of the greatest social evils of the country. In compassing the settlement of his daughter, the Hindu must see to it that she is married early and suitably; married at thirteen, say—for that touches his honour; and married to a man of his own or of a higher status—that concerns his caste. But, on the other hand, parents with eligible sons put on the bride's father every species of pressure, and alternately hang back and come forward, until they have extorted the uttermost farthing of dowry the wretched man can pay. The notary is called in to close the contract. If a Hindu be unfortunate enough to have several daughters, by the time the last is married the dowry necessity has stripped him of everything, and left him a beggar.

In marriage the girl has virtually no choice, nor is the case much better with the bridegroom. But the young couple manage, except in rare instances, to get at least a sight of each other, before the Brahmin or the Missionary joins them in wedlock. Facilities for this are more numerous among the Christians than among the heathen, though there is not, even in the most advanced Christian communities, any usage approaching the *courtship* of the West. There are the convenient opportunities which public worship affords, when the dark eye of a comely youth may be seen seeking a glimpse of a particular face, as the girls are marched to or from the mission chapel; and when, from beneath the folds of snowy muslin that fairly hide her charms, the Hindu maiden shoots a timid glance, quick as a flash of light. Not unfrequently a grave young man calls on the Missionary's wife, and requests permission to see—literally to look at—a certain girl who is a pupil in the boarding school. The girl is sent for, detained in conversation by the lady for a few minutes, and then dismissed, the young Cœlebs not having spoken to her. Of course, this episode is among the preliminaries; but the candidate is generally prepared to commit himself to marriage on the further testimony of the Missionary. He judges for himself of her person; he accepts a certificate of character; and hence have sprung some of the very happiest marriages. It should, however, be stated, that first of all the youth and his friends satisfy themselves that an alliance with the girl's family would be a desirable connexion. The following

is a Tamil proverb : ' Knowing the mother, marry the daughter ; ' a maxim not unworthy of regard in the lands of the West.

It is well known that, in the East, the men entertain no flattering opinion of the other sex. Every morning the proud Jew thanks God that He ' did not make him a woman ; ' and his humble spouse thanks God that He did not make her anything worse. The Caliph Abu Bekr used to say, ' The women are all an evil ; but the greatest evil of all is, that they are necessary.' Omar offers this counsel, ' Consult women, and do the contrary of what they advise.' By Hindu writers women are declared to be ' the cause of all the evil in the world ; ' and, instead of being graced with those celestial epithets which we apply to them, are compared to ' fiends.' ' One may trust poison, a river, a hurricane, the fierce elephant, the tiger, the angel of death ; but if one trust a woman, he will become a beggar.' The Skanda Puran says, ' Falsehood, cruelty, bewitchery, folly, covetousness, impurity, and unmercifulness, are woman's inseparable faults.' ' Woman is on no account to be trusted, though, *for the delight of her lord*, she may be clothed with ornaments.' Then follows this very superfluous precept, ' Let not women be much loved ! ' The poet disposes of the whole case in the following summary manner :—

' But why expect what Nature has withheld ?
The lotus blooms not on the mountain's brow,
Nor bears the mule the burden of the horse ;
The grain of barley buds not into rice,
Nor dwells one virtue in the breast of woman.' *

Unfortunately for the women of India, this theory is remorselessly applied in daily life. Dr. Caldwell informs us that in the Telugu language—the language of fourteen millions of people—there is no feminine pronoun ; no word in the ordinary spoken dialect signifying ' she ! ' The only pronouns of the third person commonly used are *vādu*, ' he ; ' and *adi*, ' it.' ' He ' denotes the lords of creation, of course ; and ' it,' women, cattle, and irrational things in general ! There is a similar usage in the spoken Tamil. Such are the opinions of the men. Now for ' a woman's thoughts about women.' Avveyar, or Ouvvay, as our author writes the name, the renowned female sage of Tamil literature, says, ' Never listen to the advice of your wife.' And yet, when it was desirable to turn the tables on the men for libelling her sex, she could utter the following impromptu :—

* *Daughters of India*, p. 20.

'All women were good, if left alone—
 They are spoilt by those who rule them ;
 And by men might a little sense be shown,
 But the women so befool them.'—P. 168.

Generally speaking, the Hindu women think humbly enough of themselves, and accept, without remonstrance, the degraded position assigned them by the ancient Shasters and the customs of the land. The equality of the sexes is a doctrine utterly repugnant to native ideas. The women recoil from it even more than the men ; and any attempt to show the Hindu female that respectful preference which is accorded to the sex in this country, is deemed a violation of decorum which fills her with confusion or with resentment. Mr. Robinson mentions the singular fact that the Jews refuse the evidence of women, on the ground that the word 'witnesses,' in Deut. xix. 15, is in the masculine gender ! In our Indian courts, however, the evidence of women is admissible ; but, whenever a woman is interrogated there, she gives her testimony with the most abject self-depreciation. 'What can I know ? I, who was born a woman !'* No Hindu woman ever dreamt of the 'rights' of her sex,—ever dreamt that there was for her a higher and a happier lot.

We have adverted to marriage, an affair which Manu has guarded by manifold restrictions. Not only must a man marry in his own caste, but he must also mate with a girl 'whose form has no defect, who has a graceful gait like that of a flamingo, or a young elephant.' How the daughters of India are to acquire this approved carriage without dancing, calisthenics, or drill, becomes a curious question.

After all that has been said above, a virtuous wife is extolled as the highest blessing. The Hindu moralist says, 'A house without a wife is like the Sudu-Kadu,'—the place of cremation. The Hindu drama has the following passage :—

'A virtuous wife and a respected lord,
 Are each to either all—kindred and friends,
 Wealth, love, and life, and all the heart could covet.'

The following from Manu would adorn any code :—'She must always live with a cheerful temper, with good management in the affairs of the house, with great care of the household furniture, and with a frugal hand in all her expenses.' But the

* The women of Bengal worship Krishna in the following strains : 'O that I were the water in which thou wastest thine hands ! or the sandal-wood which anoints thy feet ! or a garland of red flowers to adorn thy neck for ever ! But, alas ! instead of all this, I am only a woman and a wife !'

one duty of her life is to take care of her husband, whom she must revere as a god; and this duty is enforced by the certain knowledge that, in case of his death, nothing remains for her but a life of misery, or infamy, or both. Once they would have burnt her alive. 'Here is the moral! The law makes woman the property of man; her fate is slavish drudgery whilst he lives, and death upon his funeral pyre when he dies.'*

The prince of Tamil poets is unquestionably Tiruvalluver. He was, moreover, a model husband, and possessed in Vasugi a model wife. It is said of her that she 'never disputed her lord's will.' Of course she was an exception to something like a rule; for Manu provides for the application of a rope's-end, or a switch—the old lawgiver is thus specific—to a refractory 'wife,' as well as to 'a son, a servant, a pupil, or a younger brother;' only the stripes must be laid on 'the back part of their bodies, and not on a noble part by any means.' Such is the law. Practically, the women of India are treated like pets; well fed, well clothed, well hung out with jewels, and 'rarely beaten when they don't deserve it.'†

The religion of India has deteriorated with the lapse of ages. Between the popular superstitions of modern times, which are founded on the Purans, and the worship of ancient India, which is recorded in the Vedas, the distance is immense. Those deities which hold the first rank in the Vedas, such as Agni and Indra, take the lowest place in the Purans; and the Dianas of modern Hinduism are either never mentioned at all in those ancient records, or, if mentioned, are invariably thrust into the humblest niches of the great pantheon. So with the social position of woman. There is evidence enough to show that she has been degraded from that status of something like equality with man, which she held in Vedic times. 'A thousand years B.C. Hindu women appear to have been as free as Trojan dames, or the daughters of Judæa.'‡ The wife of the chief accompanied her lord on the midnight foray. The wives of men of rank were 'splendidly attired.' The following figure implies an amplitude in the costume of the ladies of ancient India which may suggest to western husbands the reconciling thought that there is nothing new under the sun: '*The bushes wave to and fro like a woman in a chariot.*'

Three thousand years ago, women sat in the assemblies of

* *Life in Ancient India*, by Mrs. Spiers. It has, however, been proved that the practice of widow burning has no authority from 'the law,' but is founded on a mistaken interpretation of it. See Bushby on *Widow Burning*.

† Dr. Caldwell.

‡ *Life in Ancient India*.

learned Brahmins, and took part in the discussion of the knottiest points of theology and metaphysics.*

But those were the olden times. Such is the present state of feeling, that Hindu women have been known to perish rather than violate the custom which requires strict seclusion. In 1841, Major Broadfoot escorted seven hundred native ladies from Loodiana to Cabul, and during the journey one of the poor creatures fell a victim to this prejudice. Her camel came to the ground; she was entangled among the furniture, and crushed to death by the struggles of the beast, rejecting, with shrieks of horror, the assistance which British officers hastened to afford.†

Our medical Missionaries in India save the lives of hundreds of women every year; but the number they save by skilful aid rendered at a critical period bears hardly any proportion to the number of those who fall victims to prejudice and the treatment of native empirics. The following case occurred in the neighbourhood of our own residence:—The wife of an influential Sivite was fast sinking under the exhaustion consequent on protracted parturition. Two of her brothers were educated Christian men. Without naming it to any member of the household, they ventured to introduce the medical Missionary, as the only chance of saving their sister's life. It is impossible to describe the scene which followed. The midwives were almost beside themselves with rage; the women of the family screamed aloud; and the wretched husband looked like one stupefied. The Missionary was compelled to beat a retreat. The next day, a funeral procession started from that house. Both mother and child had perished.

It would be a great error to suppose that the women of India, depreciated by the Shasters, and depressed by custom, have little or no influence in their families. The wives and mothers of

* Mrs. Spiers produces from Colebrooke the following conversation between a sage and his wife:—

Maitreya entreats her husband to communicate to her the knowledge which leads to immortality.

'Dear art thou to me,' replies her spouse, 'and a pleasing sentiment dost thou make known; come, sit down, I will expound; do thou endeavour to comprehend.'

† The Rajah of Mysore was in great tribulation for one of the widows of his father, whom he loved as his own mother. She was afflicted with a cancer in the breast, for which the Rajah entreated the aid of the resident surgeon. He himself accompanied this gentleman to the Ranee's apartment, and, bowing with much veneration before the purdah, or screen, behind which the lady was concealed, entreated her to admit the surgeon to her presence. But all that could be obtained from her, was permission to feel her pulse, for which purpose a hand was put out from behind the screen. In vain the surgeon represented the impossibility of affording aid without inspection, and in vain the Rajah renewed his entreaties. The princess was inflexible; and her life actually fell a sacrifice to this unreasonable etiquette, 'Which, after all,' observed the Rajah, 'is no custom of ours, but purely a Mussulman usage.'—*Canon Trevor.*

India have probably as much influence in their own homes as the wives and mothers of England have in theirs. The children are committed entirely to their care; they bring them up with every fond indulgence, and form their morals. Mr. Robinson, speaking of the Hindu mother's love of her offspring, says, 'She never corrects her child, but humours it to the utmost. Its little mouth is now at her breast, now at her cheroot.*'

The home influence of the women of India is directed by a firm faith in certain popular delusions,—the evil eye, omens, spells, sorceries, pilgrimages, and festivals. The unlettered wife and mother, sincerely attached to the prevalent superstitions, is often strong enough to impose her authority on her husband and sons, whom education has taught to renounce Hinduism, without embracing anything better; and the Brahmin still finds generous entertainment in the house of the man who laughs his pretensions to scorn. The wife often restrains her husband from an open avowal of religious conviction. A respectable farmer in Tinnevely, who had long desired to attend church, but was opposed by his wife, at last made a strong attempt at decision, and actually went to the service. The following Sunday he did not make his appearance; and when the Catechist inquired the reason, he said he could not come any more, for his 'wife cried all night!'+

We may repeat, however, that those of our readers who desire the amplest information on the social and religious condition of the daughters of India must obtain Mr. Robinson's book. We confidently reckon on their thanks for our recommendation.

What is the future of Hindu women to be? What are their prospects?—the prospects of the women of a country which numbers a population of nearly two hundred millions of souls? That female education is essential to the improvement of any country, and that, until we have raised up a race of instructed Christian wives and mothers in India, it is vain to imagine that its teeming millions will be leavened by the influence of Christianity, are points which no one controverts. Mrs. Mason's words, 'Burmah will never be converted until the women are,'

* This is literally true. All India smokes,—men, women, and children. Hindu mothers nurse their children until they are three years old, or more. We have often seen one of those infants lolling on the side of its nursing mother, and taking, alternately with its mother's milk, a whiff or two from the cigar which she holds in her mouth. The habit then formed is retained through life.

Smoking is not the worst habit which eastern mothers teach their offspring. Among the Afreedees, a wild tribe in the Peshawur valley, the women are accustomed to pass their infants three times through a hole in the wall of the house, repeating each time, 'Be a thief!' The smiles of the younger women are always reserved for the most desperate robbers of the tribe.

† *Lectures on the Tinnevely Missions*, by Dr. Caldwell.

are true of India, and of every country under heaven. The Hindus themselves entertain strong objections to the education of their daughters. Some of their prejudices are amusingly absurd, and all of them are destitute of any just foundation. When Mrs. Caldwell commenced her girls' school in Tinnevely, some of the heathen asked sarcastically, 'Are you going to teach the cows next?' The question was more pertinent than at first appears; for even Manu ranks slave-girls with 'cows, mares, and hens.'

The popular belief of India is, that the rigid seclusion of their women, and the refusal to them of all education, are imposed not less by their ancient Shasters than by universal custom. As we have seen, this notion is completely refuted by authentic Hindu history. Professor Wilson has clearly shown that, in the times of the Veda, women frequented public assemblies, and went abroad without reproach; and a later age boasts of Hindu ladies learned in art and science, and skilled in sweet song. In fact, women are *directed* to read the Purans and books of law, though, like the Sudras, they are interdicted from reading the Vedas. Vyasa composed the Bharata for women. The Tamil language is rich in ethical compositions,—richer, in this lore, than even the Sanscrit,—the work of female authors. Avveyar, the sweet moral teacher of South India, whose expressive aphorisms are prattled by the infant offspring of ten millions of people, was a woman. Her writings, and those of her distinguished sisters, are extensively read, and much admired. The learned Jesuit Missionary, Beschi, the peerless master of idiomatic Tamil, pronounces Avveyar's 'moral sentences to be worthy of Seneca himself.' Another critic says, 'She sung like Sappho, not of love, but virtue.' Besides composing several works on morals and religion, she wrote treatises on medicine and metaphysics. Of three of her works, Mr. Robinson has given us translations, elegantly and accurately done. Hence it seems more than probable that the practice of strict seclusion and non-education of women is an innovation on the ancient system. Perhaps it dates from the Mussulman period, and sprang from a just fear of the violence of their Mohammedan masters, or from a desire to imitate their manners.

But, be the cause of the degradation of the women of India what it may, it is our plain duty, on every humane and Christian ground, to look the facts fairly in the face. The statement that the women of that country are denied all education, may be modified by one explanatory remark: there is a limited class who are accustomed to receive it,—a class who are educated for the purposes of an infamous profession. The highest literary

culture is bestowed on the dancing-girls, retained at the principal temples, who chant the praises of the gods, lead the orgies of the great festivals, and sing licentious songs at the nautch.

To them alone, of all the daughters of India, is any education given. It is notorious that some of those unhappy children are sent for instruction, in the rudiments, to mission schools; and, whilst engaged in teaching such a girl to read the Bible, our heart has ached, when we reflected that she was destined for such a fate.

The Governments of India and Ceylon,—the Protestant missionary societies of England, America, and Germany, and a few private individuals amongst the natives themselves,—share the credit of whatever has been attempted for the education of the rising population of our eastern dominions. But, ‘as a nation, we have done little,—nay, less than little,—to enlighten the darkness of India.’ This utterance of the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury will pass unchallenged by the Christian conscience of England. But it can hardly be said, that the East India Company attempted nothing for the education of its subjects. As early as 1781, Warren Hastings founded the Mahomedan College at Calcutta; eleven years later, Lord Cornwallis established the Sanscrit College at Benares; and the faithful who believe in the Koran, and the disciples who follow the Shaster, were carefully taught by a costly staff of moulvies and pundits. The last acts of the Company were perfectly consistent with this early care of the ancient faiths and languages of India. When Dr. Max Müller submitted his proposals to bring out an edition of the *Rig Veda*, under the auspices of the government, he received the following encouraging reply:—‘The Court consider that the publication of so important and interesting a work as that to which your proposals refer, is, in a peculiar manner, deserving of the patronage of the East India Company, connected as it is with the early religion, history, and language, of the great body of their Indian subjects.’ The East India Company have received the cordial thanks of many Western scholars for their munificence in this matter; but the work is intended chiefly ‘for those, amongst the natives of India, who are still able to read their own *sacred books* in the language of India.’ In fact, the old Company was setting up a little Bible Society of its own, for putting into the hands of such of the natives of India as understood Sanscrit ‘their own sacred books.’ These efforts at education in the sacred tongues of India were continued until 1835, when the empire was ruled by Lord William Bentinck, —as benevolent, upright, and courageous a statesman as ever

occupied that high position.* Some years before, a general committee of public instruction had been constituted, 'with a view to the better instruction of the people,—to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and to the *improvement of their moral character.*' In 1835, Macaulay was President of the Educational Committee. In a very able minute, he gave the death-blow to the Oriental system, which wasted the public moneys in teaching and printing Arabic and Sanscrit, which are but showy sepulchres, containing nothing better than dead men's bones. 'I believe,' says the eloquent reviewer, 'that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I consider that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money; for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, and absurd theology.'

The reformation inaugurated by the Governor-General in council, in 1835, and which his successors have since maintained, was restricted to 'the promotion of European *literature and science* among the natives of India, through the medium of the English language.†

The class-books of the government colleges and schools comprise some of the best works in our language. Bacon, Milton, Addison, Johnson, Goldsmith, Hallam, and other names represent literature. Mental and moral science are taught by Smith, Abercrombie, Stewart, and Reid. Among the historians are Hume, Mackintosh, Gibbon, Arnold, Thirlwall, Robertson, Mill, Elphinstone, and Tytler. Rhetoric, logic, and grammar are represented by Whately, Mill, and Latham. Then there are text-books of natural philosophy, anatomy, and medicine, by men whose scientific reputation gives them all authority to teach.‡

* We have said that Lord William Bentinck was one of the best rulers that ever governed India, but he was a stern maintainer of 'strict neutrality;' and the advocates of that policy might claim him as their model man. He was more than scrupulous—he was even punctilious. In reply to an address which the Bengal Missionaries presented to him on his departure from India, he says, 'I have the more reason to feel flattered by your kindness on this occasion, inasmuch as it proceeds from those with whom, in their public capacity, I have carefully abstained from holding any communication. The professed object of your lives is conversion. The fundamental principles of British rule,—the compact to which Government stands solemnly pledged,—is strict neutrality.'

† The natives were in advance of their rulers. The tide had set in so strongly in favour of English education, that, when the Hoogly College was opened in 1836, students flocked to it in such numbers, that it became a matter of difficulty to classify them. In three days the book showed twelve hundred names; and at the end of the year the daily attendance was upwards of a thousand.

‡ *Christian Government and Education in India.*—Shaw.

Indophilus says, 'The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, and the study of the writings of Bacon, Milton, and others, establishes this law in their minds.' We must say this is a roundabout way to school, a very indirect method for the schoolmaster to take with his pupils when he aims to 'improve their moral character.' But we readily allow that it is an immense improvement on the former practice. Most of the authors above named assume the truth of the Christian religion, and many of the works specified are largely pervaded by a sound Christian morality; and for these reasons the present system of education, very defective and an 'altogether secular' education though it is, has been gratefully accepted by the intelligence of the country. It is well, *as far as it goes*. It serves admirably well for the refutation of the Shasters; for the work of demolition, which may be accomplished without the aid of the Bible,—to use the expressive phrase of Dr. Duff,—it 'tears up Hinduism by the roots.' Unfortunately it ends there—it is *simply destructive*. But whilst the *system* stops short, many of the pupils have pressed forward in the right direction, until they have confidently rested in an experimental knowledge of the highest truth. Sir C. Trevelyan, in his evidence before the House of Lords in 1853, makes this striking statement: 'Before leaving Calcutta, I caused a list to be prepared of Christian converts from the educated class, and I found that the majority were from the Hindu college.' He further states his belief, that the conversion of India will be effected by 'direct missionary instruction, and, indirectly, *through books of various kinds*.' There can be no doubt that a Christianized literature, like a Christian community, is an evangelistic agency of great power.

The celebrated Education Dispatch of 1854 is a document abounding in liberal sentiments. It contains a handsome recognition of 'the noble exertions of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth;' and directs that the Bible be placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, that the pupils may freely consult it, and 'ask explanations from their masters on the subject of the Christian religion; provided that such information be given *out of school hours*.'

If the subject were less serious, the wording of this dispatch might provoke a smile. Having placed the Bible on the shelf, and given the pupils permission to read it just where he has no power to prevent their doing so, Sir Charles Wood naïvely adds, 'This is as it should be!'

India now has its universities, constituted on the model of the

University of London; a large number of affiliated colleges, including several missionary institutions; besides provincial schools, high schools, normal schools, &c. The dispatch of 1854 provided for the introduction of the grant-in-aid system throughout India; and last year Sir C. Wood informed the deputation of the Bible Education Committee, that 'all the schools may benefit by the grants if they please; and that, practically, the missionary societies do get by far the larger portion.'*

The dispatch of 1854 did not omit the subject of female education; and the references to it in the correspondence relating to that dispatch show that it has not been entirely neglected by the governments of India. The last education dispatch to India is dated April 7th, 1859, and was written by Lord Stanley. His lordship had before him the 'most recent reports:' but that from the North-West Provinces was for 1854-5; that from Bombay for 1855-6; and those from Bengal and Madras for 1856-7 only. Then follows a statement of the numbers attending the government colleges and schools, 'a statement which, from the want of adequate information, and from defective classification and arrangement, is extremely unsatisfactory.' Nor is this all: the Secretary for India adds, 'The statement is, in fact, for all practical purposes, useless.' This condemnation of it by such authority, combined with the fact that it 'excludes female schools,' renders it unnecessary for us to produce it. Subsequently to the dispatch of 1854, which declared that grants would be made to all schools, whether male or female, the managers of which complied with certain conditions, the Court of Directors gave their cordial sanction to 'an order of the government of India that female education should be considered to be as much within the province of the Council of Education as any other branch of education.' But in 1859, Lord Stanley could say, with but too much truth, that, 'even including the results of missionary exertions, little progress has as yet been made with female education in India.'

In 1850, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune established in Calcutta a school for Hindu female children. After his death the Marquis of Dalhousie adopted the school; and when that great proconsul left India, it was taken up by the government, and

* The concluding remark is true as regards Madras; but it does not apply to Bengal, still less to Bombay. The 'Madras Native Association' got up a monster meeting, and petitioned against the grant-in-aid system, as giving an undue advantage to Missionaries. The memorial received a courteous but decided negative. In some parts of Behar the natives regard the educational measures of the government with small favour. They call the inspector's office, *Sheitan ka dyfter Khanah*, The devil's counting-house!

is now supported from the public funds. It never accomplished much. Since 1856, it has been managed by a committee of Hindu gentlemen, but with what result we are not informed. Grants in aid were sanctioned for female schools established by the local community at Dacca and Howrah. Mr. Woodrow, an inspector, reported the attendance of nineteen Brahmin girls at a school in the eastern educational division of Bengal.

In 1855, Pundit Gopal Sing, a deputy inspector, initiated a remarkable movement in furtherance of female education in the Agra district. The pundit established a small school, to which his own daughters and those of his immediate friends were sent. The example acted like a charm, and female schools sprang up as under the wand of a talisman. Girls 'of all classes of Hindus,' including a considerable number of Brahmins, and of all ages, from six to twenty years old and upwards, flocked to these schools; until, in January, 1857, there were two hundred and eighty schools in full operation, with an attendance of five thousand girls. This movement extended to the Muttra and Mynpoorie districts. So much for the influence which one enlightened native of high social position may exert over his countrymen. The strongest things in India are *caste* and *custom*, and yet both have been made to give way. A few girls' schools have been opened in the Bombay Presidency. At Ahmedabad, a native gentleman founded two girls' schools on a munificent scale.

This movement in the Agra district could not fail to attract Lord Stanley's attention; and he says, (par. 30.) 'There is no reason to doubt that the officers of the department have availed themselves of such opportunities as offered to promote the object;' and, by implication, expresses his regret that, except in the case of Agra, 'active measures' have not been taken for the establishment of female schools, in which the home authorities and the several governments of India take such 'special interest.' And yet (par. 46) 'Her Majesty's Government' are desirous of information 'as to the *genuineness of the change of feeling* which appears in some localities to have taken place regarding it, and as to the nature and degree of the influence which may safely and properly be exerted by the officers of the department of education, to promote the extension of schools for females.' That a 'change of feeling' has taken place among the natives, with reference to the education of their daughters, cannot be doubted.

Sir H. Edwardes observes, 'that the educated natives in all the capitals of the presidencies have become sensible of the error of keeping their women at so low a level; and in many

homes fathers and brothers are secretly teaching the females of their families.' Captain Lister, inspector of the Deccan division, says, 'The prejudices against female education are fast disappearing, and there will soon be no more difficulty found in establishing female schools than in those for boys.' But Mr. Woodrow gives it as his opinion, that the encouragement of government will be necessary, 'as the people are opposed to the elevation of females from their present degraded position.' Our impressions coincide with the testimony of the last witness; and we fear that native prejudices are not vanishing quite so fast as Captain Lister's language would lead us to suppose. In certain schools, established by the natives themselves, there have been difficulties regarding inspection, &c. The founders of one school at Agra had, from the first, 'a strong aversion to any male person, even though he be a Brahmin, inspecting' their institution. At a later period they refused to admit 'any female' who might be deputed for that purpose; and although they furnished the pundit with a list of the pupils, they expressly stipulated that it should not be submitted to government.

The countenance and aid, and, we will add, the *forbearance* of government, 'active measures' by the department, and the hearty co-operation of other officials, will long be necessary to foster this cause. Gopal Sing expresses his sense of great obligation to the Collector of Agra, Mr. Drummond; and justly observes, that it 'cannot but be evident to every one that the assistance of such persons is invaluable.'

As to Ceylon, it is important to bear in mind one fact. 'India's utmost isle' has always been under the rule of the Colonial Office. This fact is the key to the present prosperous condition of that magnificent dependency. Its institutions, the comparatively enlightened condition of its population, and its material prosperity, are all rendered intelligible by this one fact. Ceylon has enjoyed an advantage which India never possessed, —the direct and continuous influence of the Christian opinion of England; and this difference between the two countries affords the true explanation of almost every other. When the Central School Commission was organized in 1841, it was estimated that the island contained about two hundred and thirty thousand children, two thousand of whom were found in existing government schools. The commission consisted of nine members. Five were government officials; and the rest were an Episcopal Clergyman, a Presbyterian Minister, a Romish Priest, and a Missionary from one of the five Protestant Societies having establishments in the colony. Of this body, the Bishop of

Colombo, Dr. Chapman, was for some time president; an office which he suddenly resigned, because the Governor appointed a Wesleyan Missionary to the post of Head Master of the Colombo Central School. The Commission had to grope its way, for this painful reason, that it was blind to the real wants of the country. The fifth clause of its constitution restricts its labours to 'the education in the *English language* of their fellow-subjects of all religious opinions in the colony;' and in the seventh clause it is declared, that 'the general education of the *whole population* is the duty of the Commission.' Strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless literally true, that the Governor of Ceylon proposed, and the Secretary for the Colonies approved, a scheme by which the soft and mellifluous vernaculars were to be virtually suppressed, and the whole population to be educated, if educated by the Government at all, in the English language! We have given dates, which obviates the necessity of giving names. After the experience of four years, the Commission discovered that it was necessary to make arrangements to supply the elementary schools with the means of giving instruction in the vernacular, 'so as to afford the necessary preparation for English education.' Then arose a Normal Training School, at the head of which was placed one of the most industrious, tenacious, and successful teachers that ever graced the Commission's staff, Dr. Andrew Kessen. In this Institution were to be trained vernacular teachers, 'for those villages where there is, as yet, no demand for English.' Faithful to the constitution, the Commission resolved to make these vernacular schools 'essentially subsidiary to the English schools.' Before the present School Commission was constituted, the Bible was in regular use in all the Government schools, and in 1841 the Governor was in a position to say, 'Whatever may have been the defects of the late Commission, it will be found that in their schools *the Scriptures are read without objection by all*:' and the *all* included Budhists, Hindus, and Mohammedans.

The schools of the Commission entirely failed in Jaffna. The teachers could not hold their ground against the missionary establishments of the American, Wesleyan, and Church of England Societies. In 1843, the Secretary of the Commission sought the counsel of the Missionaries, and, after some correspondence, the Government schools were abandoned, and the sum of £500 voted for distribution among the three Missions above named. The education of the population of the peninsula was left in the hands of the Missionaries: no restrictions of any kind were imposed. Subsequently, the Romanists received a grant. In 1855, the Deputation from the American Board

visited Ceylon. 'Our Prudential Committee,' said they, 'have a decided objection to receiving Government Grants for Mission Schools, whether from our own or from foreign governments;' and the grants, which had been received for ten years, were thenceforward declined.* The Wesleyans, who are troubled by no such scruples, have had their grant increased to £250 per annum. The 'Jaffna Grant Schools,' as they are officially termed, make half-yearly returns to the Commission, and are visited annually by the Government Inspector. The whole arrangement has worked well, without attrition to either party. The Commission has ever regarded Girls' Schools with marked favour. The following are the statistics, as gathered from the last published Report:—

Schools.	Pupils.
†4 Superior English Schools.....	312
†7 English Schools.....	279
3 Vernacular Schools.....	87
Total.....	678

It may strike our readers that less than seven hundred girls, out of a population of a million and three quarters, are not a large number to have in the public schools. But the explanation to be offered is, that the operations of the Commission have been very feebly conducted as a whole; for its female schools have been quite as successful as any of its institutions. Offices which should have been filled by men of capacity have been bestowed on needy civilians or feeble Clergymen; and the course of the Commission has been marked by the utter want of steadiness, force, and consistency.†

The several Protestant Missionary Societies, both in India and Ceylon, have long directed their attention to this matter

* The Baptists, though diligent educators, have ever refused government assistance.

† Many of the girls in these schools—probably the majority—are of English, Dutch, or Portuguese parentage, and not *natives* in the popular sense.

‡ The following record is interesting:—

VERNA CULAR GIRLS' SCHOOLS.

Year.	No. of Schools.	Daily attendance.
1848.....	9.....	231
1850.....	9.....	168
1851.....	8.....	141
1852.....	7.....	198
1853.....	4.....	47
1854.....	6.....	148
1855.....	6.....	96
1856.....	3.....	54
1858.....	3.....	43

There is no discrepancy between this and the previous statement. That gives the number on the lists, this the number in attendance.

of female education; and the wives of many Missionaries have laboured in the cause with singular devotion, satisfied with the approval of Him 'who seeth in secret.' Boarding Schools have been much more successful than Day Schools; and, under the present circumstances of India, and probably for a long time to come, experienced Missionaries will continue to prefer those schools into which girls are received at a tender age, where they have the advantage of a thorough *Christian training*, and from which they are not generally dismissed until their marriage. As far as possible all such schools should be of an industrial character. Mrs. Caldwell taught the first pupils of her boarding school at Edeyenkoody to make lace; lace-making has now become a flourishing branch of manufacture, and a source of considerable profit to the school. The Tinnevely lace has an excellent sale; the girls in the school and the Christian women who have married from it cannot make it fast enough to supply the demand. This, therefore, is a becoming and remunerative employment, exactly suited to the habits and capabilities of Hindu women.* In Madras and Ceylon, Mrs. Roberts, Miss Agnew, and other ladies, have successfully introduced crochet work, shirt-making, &c., into the boarding schools under their care. For the pieces of crochet work, in particular, there is a great demand; and many of them are equal in point of execution to anything of the kind we have ever seen. We remember a visit which the late Sir Henry Ward, then Governor of Ceylon, paid to the American Boarding School at Jaffna. Two large antimacassars, in which were delicately worked figures of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, caught the eye of the Governor. Sir Henry Ward was the most loyal of men. 'Let me have them,' said he, 'and I will send them to the Queen!' His Excellency paid the price, and carried them off. Such an incident would touch the Queen's womanly heart. And we are certain that it cannot be otherwise than gratifying to our Transatlantic cousins to know that there hangs on some royal couch or chair, at Buckingham Palace, Windsor, or Balmoral, a graceful fabric wrought by the fingers of Hindu girls trained in a school of the American Board.†

* The East India Company—and let any good thing that the old Company ever did be remembered in its favour—sent specimens of this lace to the Paris Exhibition; and also to the Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester. The Council of the Madras Exhibition awarded to the school a medal for its lace.

† Whilst engaged in writing these lines, we received the intelligence of the death of Sir Henry Ward. He was a very eminent man. His successful administration in Ceylon was fitly recognised by his promotion to the wider sphere of Madras. His talents were equal to any position. He wrote and spoke like a statesman, and, in developing the resources of Ceylon, worked *like a horse*,—to the utmost of his strength.

This cause of female education took root in a most unpromising soil, and has prospered in spite of much discouragement. At first the parents objected that it was 'not the custom' to teach girls to read; that it was not respectable; ('Do you want our daughters to be like dancing girls?') and that it was unnecessary. 'Cannot a woman cook rice'—the whole duty of woman in their estimation—'without learning to read and write?' These stereotyped objections were urged by the early converts as well as by heathens; and both parties were surprised that reasons so entirely satisfactory to themselves did not satisfy the Missionaries. The first girls that were received into the Jaffna schools were bribed by presents, and retained under instruction by the promise of a dowry. This dowry, about four pounds sterling, the Americans gave for years to every girl who married from the school with their approbation. In the day schools it was long the custom to give lunch daily,—rice cakes or fruit,—and a few yards of calico at Christmas. But the three Missions in North Ceylon have entirely discontinued presents of every kind in the boarding schools; and in the day schools, where lunch is given at all, it is restricted to those children who come from a distance, and who, if allowed to go home at mid-day, would not return for needlework in the afternoon. Not only are those boarding schools full of girls, but the girls come from a much higher grade than that from which the first pupils were drawn; and the kutcherry clerk, the well-to-do farmer, the thriving tradesman, and, of course, the educated native preacher, each in his turn, comes to the lady in charge in search of a wife. And Hindoo parents, quick enough in appreciating the social advantage of a respectable marriage, now earnestly seek education for their daughters, and are well content to commit them to the absolute guardianship of the Missionary and his wife. 'I give this child to you, she is no longer mine, you are her father and mother.' More than this. Those parents are now paying a proportion of the cost of the education and maintenance of their girls. The Americans, since the visit of their Deputation in 1855, have discontinued the practice of requiring payment; but in the Church of England and Wesleyan schools the practice is still maintained.*

The efforts of the Society for promoting Female Education in the East are entitled to grateful recognition. This Society, founded on broadly catholic principles, has nobly fulfilled its mission, having sent out ninety female teachers since 1834.

* In Madras the Scotch Missionaries have successfully introduced the practice of payment, even into girls' day schools.

The Established and Free Churches of Scotland, too, have their Ladies' Societies, their orphanages and day schools for females; and their agents in the East have been a race of singularly zealous and able men,—we might add, and of women; for Mrs. Wilson of Bombay was worthy of association with John Anderson of Madras and Dr. Duff of Calcutta.

To the 'Ladies' Committee' we give a cordial and respectful welcome. This youngest sister of the Societies was organized about two years ago, and is connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The ladies who led the movement which issued in the formation of this Committee have been long engaged in promoting female education in the East; and they bring to the new Society the experience of many years, and the obvious advantage of a wide range of missionary friendships and correspondence. The name of one lady, the wife of the senior secretary of Wesleyan Missions, is held in warmest remembrance in India; and in the palm groves of Ceylon nestle beautiful school-houses erected by contributions called forth by her ever active pen. This 'Ladies' Committee,' having for its object the systematic direction of the power of a great community like the Methodists, will doubtless secure for itself the cordial sympathy of all ladies within the pale of its own Church, and the best wishes of all the friends of India beyond.

There is one fact which we venture to put before that Committee, because of its bearing on the future prospects of the women of India. It is of startling import; but it indicates a want which it lies within the scope of the Ladies' Committee to supply to the extent of its means. Female teachers who devote their attention to boarding and day schools meet the case of India in part only. What is to become of those very few girls who pass through the day schools? Before they reach a certain age, say ten or eleven, they are removed from the school, and secluded, by inexorable custom, for life. Unless Christian women can be found to follow them into their forced retirement, they will never receive another Christian lesson. Preaching never reaches them; no woman is ever seen listening to a sermon in the bazaar, or under the shade of the village tree; no heathen woman ever appears within the walls of a Christian temple; and they are virtually inaccessible to missionary teaching in their own homes. We boldly assert,—and let the statement be pondered by those whom it may concern,—that heathen girls who have left the day schools, and girls who have never been to any school whatever, in short, the adult female population of India, do not, under the present system, ever hear the Gospel at all! We hear much, now-a-days, of woman's mission; and if we are not

greatly mistaken, we have here stumbled upon a most important part of it. Let English ladies 'haste to the rescue.' Let English ladies of social position and education devote themselves to the work of teaching, from house to house, their adult Hindu sisters, who are literally perishing for lack of knowledge, none caring for their souls.*

In some quarters this suggestion will be denounced as Utopian: we do not care to reply to such an objection. Where, out of a female population of upwards of seventy millions,† there are but twenty thousand under instruction, and most of those are withdrawn from school before they have reached their teens, we are not to be told that the only earthly means by which the case of those women can be met are impracticable and Utopian. We would ask Miss Marsh, Mrs. Wightman, and Mrs. Bayley, to show us their opinion.‡

Free from the anxious cares of domestic life—'the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord'—a female member of the mission family on each central station would have the protection and comforts of a home; as the colleague of the Missionary's wife, she would have a ready passport to the homes or harems of the daughters of India; welcomed as an angel visitor, she would sit among her darker sisters, and teach them the story of the cross.§

We cannot doubt that many a Christian woman will rise from the perusal of these pages with a very thoughtful heart, and we venture to hope that at no distant day some sister of mercy, 'fired with a zeal peculiar,' will inaugurate a new era in the evangelization of the East.

* The Zenana Schools of Bengal have yielded encouraging results. Intelligent Baboos have admitted governesses to teach their wives and daughters, and also paid for their services. That venerable Missionary, Lacroix, just before his death, wrote to Dr. Duff, 'For a long time to come, I feel assured, the best way (because most in accordance with the feelings of the people) to promote female education in India, will be through means of domestic instruction.' The Rev. John Fordyce, speaking of these Zenana Schools, observes: 'If the Lord be pleased to raise up agents to carry out this plan on a large scale, it will go far to unlock many a prison home, and to solve one of the most perplexing of missionary problems.'

† If the population be taken at two hundred millions, of course the number of women would be considerably more than we have stated.

‡ 'I would go a step further, and advocate the agency of female Missionaries in India. It would not be their duty to preach in the bazaar, but to go from house to house, and speak to the native women of the love of Jesus, wherever they find access.'—*Conference on Missions at Liverpool, Paper by Rev. Mr. Leupolt.*

§ 'It is to the Christian mothers of our land that we must look for help. It is now the happy privilege of their daughters to come forth as messengers of peace and mercy, to break the fetters of superstition and ignorance in which India has so long been bound, and to teach it that truth which makes us free.'—*Sir J. S. Login.*

ART. VII.—*Footfalls on the Boundary of another World. With Narrative Illustrations.* By ROBERT DALE OWEN. Trübner.

THAT there are powers above us and around us, unseen, but having intimate relations with us, is a world-wide belief. Few nations have been found so degraded as to have no idea of Deity presiding over and controlling the powers of nature; and none that have any traditional literature are without the notion of a world of spirits occasionally manifesting itself to mortals. The charm of all ancient poetry—Oriental or Classical, Scandinavian, Romantic, or Teutonic—lies mainly in this, that it represents man in relation to the invisible world; man exercising his corporeal powers, aided or thwarted by incorporeal natures—Divine, angelic, demoniac, or human—which exercise their forces in a far more direct and powerful manner than through the cumbrous organization of flesh and blood. We may disbelieve every word of each particular narration—so perhaps did those who first listened to it; but if we as well as they had not a deep-seated belief in the general principle, and an instinctive desire towards that disencumbered nature, this lore would have no such charm for us.

The traditions of men on this subject are confirmed as to their general principle by the records of inspiration. The Bible tells of miracles which were wont to attest every direct revelation of God to man; of visits which men used to receive from angels (*ἄγγελοι*), messengers not always nor even often making it plain whether they were disembodied spirits of men, or belonging to some other order of intelligent beings. It tells also of principalities and powers of darkness continually acting as the enemies of God and man. In accordance with human tradition it represents flesh and blood as always quailing in the manifested presence of spirits, however friendly in their character; and it denounces as the grossest wickedness and rebellion against God the conduct of those who seek a forbidden confederacy with them, for the purpose of knowing what He has hidden in the future, or acquiring a power over the elements of nature beyond what He has permitted. The whole Bible is based on the idea of a spiritual world standing in intimate relations with our own.

In the infancy, whether of individuals or nations, supernatural agency affords the easiest and most acceptable explanation of all phenomena of which no other cause can be traced. Let children be told that the thunder which they hear is the voice of God, the lightning the flashes of His eye, and they will reverently believe that some dreadful wickedness has been committed to call for

such expressions of anger ; just as Christopher Columbus is said to have persuaded the American Indians that an eclipse of the sun was the sure token of Heaven's displeasure against them for their evil intentions towards him and his companions. But as individuals or nations advance towards maturity, they learn that all natural phenomena depend on approximate causes more or less distinctly understood. The thunder, which was once regarded as a personal voice, turns out to be the echo of electric explosions among the clouds ; the eclipse, which darkened the sun at mid-day, is found to be occasioned by the moon intercepting his beams, according to a well known law of her evolutions. We are taught that even the winds and waves, which appear so uncertain in their action, are subject to rules of sequence as invariable as those of the rising and setting sun. The beams of knowledge dispel the fairy frost-work of fancy ; and the myths of infancy are surrendered for the studies of manhood. Now the reaction of our minds against the credulity of our ignorance is likely to drive us for a time into the regions of scepticism ; and only by slow degrees, after much wayward eccentricity, do we learn to hold an even and steady course in that path which is illuminated by the light of science, blended with that of faith.

It was the misfortune of European society that the ages of its ignorant faith were under the dominion of a crafty and avaricious priesthood, who worked on the credulity of the people to promote the aggrandizement of the Church. Hence the numberless and monstrous legends of mediæval miracles, apparitions of ghosts, demons, and what not, the fabrications of wilful deceit ; or, at best, the offspring of imaginations perverted and diseased by the unnatural influences of monastic life. As the most profitable of all the lying wonders of Rome was the purgatory of a future life, so the very *bathos* of superstition was the belief that those regions of punishment lying beneath their feet might actually be entered from an opening on the surface of the earth ; and that the man who could endure the discipline now in the flesh would be exempt from the liability to suffer it hereafter in the spirit. The purgatory of St. Patrick lay, relatively to the rest of Christian Europe, in the direction which mankind from the remotest ages had supposed to be the place of departed spirits,—the sombre regions of the setting sun, not absolutely inaccessible to the adventurous pilgrim. Here was a cave under the care of a small staff of Augustine monks, which was for ages the wonder and glory of Christendom. Whoever was bold and pious enough to endure for twenty-four hours the terrors of the purgatory to which it led might thus expiate all his sins, past and future,

which otherwise would cost him ages of torment. Numbers from all parts of Europe made the attempt, and more perished than ever returned to tell their adventures; for, according to Jacobus Vitriaco, 'Whoever went into it, not being truly penitent and contrite, was presently snatched away by demons, never more to be seen.' In the case of those who were found alive when the cave was opened by the monks after the twenty-four hours, their experience in the various fields of punishment, the extremes of cold, followed by those of heat, fiery serpents, toads, spits, while tempting demons surrounded and threatened,—all was carefully written down by the priestly guardians of the place for the edification of the faithful throughout Christendom. If the reader supposes that this was an obscure superstition, prevailing chiefly among that class of people who in modern times have resorted to the island for penance, let him turn to the patent rolls of Edward the Third's reign, and, under date 1358, he will find the copy of a testimonial of which the following is a free translation:—

'The King to all and singular to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Malatesta Ungarus, a noble gentleman and knight of Rimini, coming into our presence, hath declared that lately, leaving his own country, he has, with much toil, visited the purgatory of St. Patrick, in our domain of Ireland, and for the usual space of one whole day and night remained shut up therein as one of the dead; earnestly beseeching us that in confirmation of the fact we would deign to grant him our royal letters. Though the assertion of so noble a man might be accepted by us as sufficient, yet considering the extreme perils of this pilgrimage, we are further informed concerning it by letters from our trusty and well beloved Almaric de St. Amand, our Justice of Ireland, also from the prior and convent of the said place of purgatory, and from other men of credit, as also by clear proofs that the said nobleman hath duly and courageously completed his pilgrimage; we have therefore thought proper to give to him favourably our royal testimony concerning the same, that there may be no doubt; and that the truth of the premised may more clearly appear, we have been induced to grant to him these letters with the royal seal. Given at our palace at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of October.'

There is also the copy of a safe-conduct, or passport, granted by Richard II. in 1397, to enable Raymond, Viscount of Perilhos, Baron of Seret, Knight of Rhodes, and Chamberlain of Charles VI. of France, to visit the purgatory with a retinue of twenty men and thirty horses; which Raymond

afterwards wrote a narrative of his adventures in the Limousin dialect, with all the usual horrors. 'The most gifted tongue could not relate, the most forcible and copious writer could not adequately describe, such dreadful tortures and punishments. Woe to sinners! Alas for those who do not repent in this world! All the ills of this life, labour, poverty, exile, imprisonment, disgrace, misery, calamity, wounds, and even death itself, are nothing to the pains of purgatory.' Such were some of the mediæval 'footfalls on the boundary of another world.'

The light of the Reformation dispelled, at least from the English mind, the terrors of purgatory, and the notion that a mitigation of its tortures might be procured through priestly influence. But there remained a general belief in disembodied spirits, good and evil, and the possibility of intercourse with them; as well as a solemn sense of the sin of any commerce with evil ones. In the seventeenth century we find Jeremy Taylor, in his episcopal capacity, investigating a ghost story, which was afterwards communicated in writing by his lordship's secretary to the editor of *Sadducismus Triumphatus*. The leading facts of the story are, that the ghost of a man named James Had-dock appeared first on horseback on the highway to one Taverner, whom he had known in the flesh, 'a lusty, proper, stout, tall fellow,' and desired him to carry a message to those who were wronging his fatherless boy in the matter of a lease which ought to have stood in his name; the reason alleged for appearing to him being, that he was a man of more resolution than others. But Taverner did not care to meddle with what did not concern him; and the ghost returned again and again, threatening to tear him in pieces if he did not carry the message. Whereupon Taverner, who was in the service of the Earl of Donegal, consulted his lordship's chaplain; and the chaplain took him for a further consultation with the incumbent of Belfast, whose only difficulty, after hearing the details, was whether it would be lawful to do the errand in case the spirit was a bad one. However, considering the justice of case, it was determined to go, and the chaplain accompanied the man. It would seem the details of the wrong were admitted to be as the ghost had revealed them. A few days afterwards the bishop was holding a court at Dromore, and, having heard of this strange transaction, he summoned the parties before him for an investigation. Alcock, the secretary, who was present throughout, says that 'my lord styled it a strange scene of Providence,' and was satisfied that the apparition was true and real. He adds, 'This Taverner, with all the persons and places mentioned in the story, I knew very well, and all wise and good men did believe it, especially the

bishop and the dean of Connor, Dr. Rust.' That the narrative, whatever its merits, was no fabrication, either of the bishop's secretary or the editor of *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, who published it, appears from the fact that the same particulars were afterwards related by the Countess of Donegal to Richard Baxter, with more minute particulars as to the nature of the wrong done to the boy, with the subsequent fact that a new lease was drawn in his favour, and sealed by the earl her husband.

We learn from several of the books in which such narratives appear, that there were in those days persons who avowed their disbelief in apparitions, and held witchcraft and sorcery to be mere juggling and fraud, instead of a true commerce with the devil. We gather also that those who denied the possibility of communication with the unseen world, generally doubted its very existence; and, like the Sadducees of old, said that there was 'no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit.' Bishop Burnet characterizes this scepticism about witchcraft as 'atheism, which was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reason of the hypocrisy of some, and the fantastical conceits of the more sincere enthusiasts.'

Descending to the eighteenth century, we find the belief of the supernatural becoming fainter and fainter, but not wholly extinguished, or even without respectable patronage. Dr. Johnson used to say, that 'all reason was against it, but all experience for it;' and he puts this speech into the mouth of Imlac, the sage in *Rasselas*:—

'That the dead are seen no more I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent testimony of all ages and nations. There is no people, rude or unlearned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth; those that never heard of one another would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience could make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues confess it with their fears.'

In the same age Blackstone, in his 'Commentaries,' says, concerning occult powers in connexion with evil spirits:—'To deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testament; and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well-attested, or by prohibitory laws which at least suppose the possibility of commune with evil spirits.'

Before that century closed, unsanctified philosophy had attained the *acme* of scepticism, and several of the leading men of the day proclaimed their belief that there was nothing real, except body, in the universe—neither God, nor devil, nor soul of man; and that all the functions that had been attributed to a spirit in man were but operations of his material organization. These views, however, were the vagaries of a few, carried away by metaphysical speculations. The men of science, properly so called,—the students of physical nature,—took a different course. They found that many things hitherto deemed *preternatural* were assignable to natural causes; that many of the wonders of sorcery (so called) were tricks of machinery, chemistry, or sleight of hand; and that a great deal of the ghost-lore of the country fireside might be traced to optical illusion, ventriloquism, and hallucination. They explored the mechanism of the universe, and, to some extent, traced the plan of its government; they found it to consist of a marvellous catenation of causes and effects; whereupon they judged that all natural phenomena must depend on natural causes; they decided that scientific study implies a ‘postulate of constant sequences, with determinate conditions of occurrence;’* and too many of them jumped to the conclusion that the idea of any superior agency is inconsistent with ‘the sense of the invariable course of nature, and the scientific explanation of phenomena.’ ‘The totality of finite things,’ says Strauss, ‘forms a vast circle, which, except that it owes its existence and laws to a superior power, suffers no intrusion from without. This conviction is so much a habit of thought with the modern world, that in actual life the belief in a supernatural manifestation, an immediate Divine agency, is at once attributed to ignorance or imposture.’ On this principle these *savans* have not only taught the present generation to spurn all belief in ghost-lore, witchcraft, and whatever else implies spiritual or supernatural agency, but they have, in as plain terms as they dare, discarded the Scripture records of miracles, prophecy, and other superhuman phenomena, representing these writings as the productions of a period when ‘poetry, religion, and history were all one;’ when ‘legend had the certainty of fact, and fact might be treated with the freedom of legend;’ when ‘history was rather a heroic poem than an accurate narrative, and the scientific scrutiny of witnesses had not begun to be practised.’ They do not hesitate to avow that this goes to sap the very foundations of the Christian faith. The leading organ of this school† says, ‘Religions, bound up,

* Grote,

† *Westminster Review*.

as they have hitherto allowed themselves to be, in the legends of supernatural appearances upon earth, in interferences by Divine power with the ordinary sequences of events upon it, die away in the light of historical knowledge with the traditions to which they have linked themselves.' On the same principle the doctrine of Providence is cut away from under our feet; and man, who has always loved to think himself under the benignant care of some superior power, is consigned to the stern machinery of 'invariable sequences.'

But it requires only a moment's consideration to perceive that this is going too fast. Science gets beyond its sphere, if it asserts that all phenomena depend on natural causes which cannot be either overruled or contravened. Science has discovered many of the laws by which the material forces of the universe operate; but it has not discovered their relations to the Creator, or proved that He has bestowed on them an inherent and absolute power to perform their work without reference to His further will, and dependence on His continued energy. And therefore science is not competent to say that there cannot, and never could be, miracles, that is, events suspending or contravening the laws of nature; still less that there cannot be an overruling Providence working with those forces, in harmony with these laws. Science has made some discoveries of the laws of spirit in connexion with matter; but it knows nothing of its condition apart from it; and it is not in a position to say whether it exists without any material vehicle when it leaves the body, or whether it assumes a lighter and more manageable one usually invisible to the human eye; and if so, whether this vehicle is capable of being made denser at pleasure, and palpable to the human senses. All that regards the human spirit and its relations to another world, must be revealed from that world; and it seems fitting that, when mortals still in the flesh were made the medium of such a revelation, their mission should be accredited by signs from heaven. We, who accept the Scriptures in their plain and obvious meaning, must believe that there has been such a revelation, given through man, and especially through the Man Christ Jesus, attested by 'miracles and signs and wonders.' On the same authority we believe that there have been missions to earth of subordinate spirits from the unseen world, chiefly with reference to temporal matters, leading us to look on them as serving (*διάκονοι*) spirits, sent forth to wait on the heirs of salvation; while to Himself, and to a human ministry, the Most High has reserved it to carry out the great work of redeeming and regenerating the fallen race. Hence, when the rich man begged that Lazarus

might be sent to his father's house, he was not told that there was an impassable gulf, but that the mission would be useless. So when the disciples were terrified at the appearance of the Saviour's resurrection body, and supposed they had seen a ghost, He did not reprove them for superstitious credulity, and assure them that such apparitions were impossible; but He said, 'Handle Me and see; for a ghost hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have.' Likewise, when that command was promulgated, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' nobody supposes the crime denounced was that of obtaining money by false pretences, which is that which our modern magistrates impute to all members of the occult profession, sentencing them to a short imprisonment, and marvelling that, in these days of education, any one can be so ignorant and superstitious as to believe that foresight can thus be obtained.

It is important to mark this, because even the Christian part of the community in the present day do for the most part adopt a tone in speaking of these things which shows they have, however unwittingly, imbibed to a certain extent the principles of this scientific scepticism. They hold, in a general way, that it is the province of education to dispel all belief in apparitions, voices, and other preternatural manifestations; and they think that if the masses of the people were instructed in the principles of science, their fears, their hopes, and their actions would no longer be influenced by anything supposed to be the effect of spiritual agency. But this is taking it for granted that science has proved spiritual agency impossible; the inevitable consequence would be, that such a thing has never been; and then there is no ground on which we can maintain the credibility of our holy books in their obvious meaning. By what process does that which we pronounce 'incredible because impossible' become credible, when removed two thousand years into the past?

Here, then, firmly we plant our foot, and affirm that, neither miracles nor apparitions may be discredited as in themselves impossible; for we devoutly believe they have been. Whether they ever happen now is a question of fact, depending on testimony; and if any individual chooses to say that he has met with no case in which the evidence satisfied his mind, he is, for aught we see, at perfect liberty to hold his incredulity without incurring the imputation of being either atheist or Sadducee. But he is not at liberty to decide *a priori* that it cannot be. Likewise it is sheer impertinence to insist on first settling such questions as, 'What good end would it serve? Is it worthy the Divine wisdom to act in contravention of ordinary laws for purposes so slight?' If we enter on the inquiry at all, our business is first with the

evidence of the alleged facts. If the thing is true, doubtless there is a reason for it worthy of the Divine wisdom.

If we seek an answer to the question whether occasional interference from the spiritual world is a reality or a delusion, we perceive at once that it is one on which we cannot afford to give common fair play to evidence. Our native instincts teach us to trust the evidence of our own senses, but our education makes us distrustful of that of all others. The man who has seen or heard something which he cannot account for, readily supposes it preternatural; but from the very consciousness of his own weakness, if weakness it is,—at least from the knowledge he has that the human mind has a tendency to such beliefs, and has often been mistaken,—he will scarcely rely on another who relates a similar experience. If the thing has only appeared or spoken, it may have been imagination or illusion. If it has revealed something which proves true, it may have been a mere coincidence; or the prediction may have proved the cause of its own fulfilment, as in the case of a death; or it may have been trickery throughout; or, finally, it may have been the result of some natural law with which we are as yet unacquainted.

Many years ago the late Rev. Joseph Entwisle told us he had visited a lady lately recovered from her confinement, and she had mentioned to him that a few weeks before, when lying quite awake during the night, she heard a voice distinctly say, 'This year thou shalt die.' She immediately spoke to her husband; but he had been asleep, and had heard nothing. She was naturally led to apprehend that the crisis then approaching would prove fatal; and regarded the voice as a warning to be prepared for her solemn change; but now, she added, that it had passed over safely, she felt the fear had been salutary, and her deliverance from its realization merciful, for the sake of her family. A few weeks afterwards she had a severe attack of inflammation, in which she seemed much more absorbed in the present suffering than in any apprehension of danger. As soon as this subsided, she sent for her husband, and told him joyfully how much better she was. In vain he suggested his fear that she was not really better; she was sure of it, and could not be persuaded to forego the hope of a speedy restoration, till he felt obliged to tell her that the pain had subsided only because mortification had supervened, and she had but a few hours to live. Surprised, but not dismayed, she replied, 'Ah, if that is the case, it's another thing,' and calmly began to give her last orders, soon after which she expired. To have known the venerable Mr. Entwisle, was to give implicit credence to his statement: but perhaps nine out of every ten who could not

disbelieve him would say the lady only fancied she heard a voice. The fulfilment of its prediction was certainly a remarkable coincidence, as there seems no reasonable ground for associating them as cause and effect. Who, in the nineteenth century, would dare to say what else it was or could be? Yet it must be confessed that the same evidence on any other subject would be regarded otherwise. Not long ago a man was hanged for a deed which he averred had been perpetrated by his mother in a fit of frenzy, admitting that he had killed her to save himself from a similar fate. Suppose a female of unquestionable veracity, in whatever state of health, had sworn that, being awake, or believing herself so, she overheard a boy's voice, exclaiming, 'Help, Joseph, mother is killing me:' and if, moreover, it was proved by several others, that she had mentioned this before she could know the fact of the murder; would it not have saved Joseph Clarkson's life? Would any judge or jury have listened to the counsel for the prosecution pleading that it must have been imagination,—the circumstantial evidence on the other side being strong enough to condemn him? In jurisprudence it is taken for granted that a witness may believe his senses; there is no allowance made for the possibility of hallucination or illusion, unless that is proved; nor for fraud, unless some motive can be shown, or some self-contradiction is detected. But testimony is not so easily accepted concerning this sort of occurrences. Moreover, trustworthy evidence is scanty in comparison with the amount of the alleged fact to be substantiated; and scrutiny has been remiss in allowing descriptions of difficult and doubtful phenomena to pass unheeded from lip to lip, without an attempt to set them in their true light. Most of our ghost stories are old and beyond investigation, because the subject had been under ban, at least during the life of all the present generation. Few have cared to give publicity to any strange experience they may have had, and still fewer would peril their reputation for common sense by looking into it. Half afraid that the phenomena were preternatural, they have shrunk from instituting an examination, lest no natural explanation should be found, and they should be shut up to conclusions that would involve them in ridicule. We remember sojourning with a family well known and highly esteemed in the religious world, while they rented a house for the bathing season near the cliffs of the Isle of Thanet. It stood alone in its own grounds, and was extremely free from holes and corners, having scarcely even a cupboard in any of its sixteen square and naked-looking rooms. Here were terrific noises night after night, consisting chiefly of violent knocking on the floors and internal walls, with sounds of footsteps, rust-

ling of paper, groaning, &c., heard by every inmate of the house, except, perhaps, the youngest children. The only assignable cause was, that, the house being untenanted for a great part of the year, smugglers, might have made it their resort, might have excavated a subterranean way to it from the chalky cliff, might have apartments under the basement story, and might by machinery, if not by personal ascent within the walls and between the floors, have made those noises to frighten away tenants. The supposition was plausible enough. Why then did not the family lodge information with the police or revenue officers, who on the evidence would have been justified in raising the floors and opening the walls at the places that could have been indicated? Just because in their inmost souls they apprehended that perhaps it was no mortal thing that disturbed them; and, rather than be involved in the possibly unpleasant result of an investigation, they left the house. So an excellent opportunity was lost for discovering, if it could be discovered, what in a house could occasion those disturbances which give it the reputation of being haunted. Doubtless there are few persons who have not known similar cases of suppressed information, though every one knows that a single *éclaircissement* is enough to swamp a host of doubtful narratives. Perhaps it is well that evidence is generally so scanty and unsatisfactory that no one can be blamed for giving little beyond a vague and general credence to the doctrines of ghost-lore.

The author whose work is named at the head of this article has undertaken to settle the faith of the present generation,—to overpower and silence its unbelief,—by adducing an extensive array of facts, classified under the heads of dreams, hauntings, apparitions of the living, apparitions of the dead, &c. Some of them are taken from works already well known, as Macnish's *Philosophy of Sleep*, and Abercrombie *On the Intellectual Powers*; but a large number are of comparatively recent occurrence, and have been received by him at first or second hand.

We offer our readers an abridgment of the story which takes our fancy, more than any others, in the book:—it is so circumstantial and life-like in its details, so satisfactory in its results; to say nothing of the decided preference we feel for a ghost that still keeps its head-quarters in living flesh and blood.

In the year 1828, a Mr. Robert Bruce was first mate of a barque trading from Liverpool to New Brunswick. When near the banks of Newfoundland, the captain and mate were one day calculating their progress—the mate in the state-room, and the captain in the cabin near it. Being absorbed in his work, Bruce had not perceived that the captain had gone on deck; and, without looking round, he called out, 'I make our

longitude so-and-so; can that be right? How is yours, Sir?' Receiving no reply, he repeated the question, glancing over his shoulder, and perceiving, as he thought, the captain busy writing on his slate. Still receiving no answer, he rose, and fronted the cabin door, when the figure he had mistaken for the captain looked up, and disclosed the features of an entire stranger. Bruce, terrified at the grave and silent gaze, rushed upon deck, and the captain, of course, begged to know what was the matter. 'The matter, Sir! who is that at your desk?' 'No one, that I know of.' 'But there is, Sir; there's a stranger there.' 'A stranger! why, man, you must be dreaming. You must have seen the steward there, or the second mate. Who else would venture down without orders?' 'But, Sir, he was sitting in your arm-chair, fronting the door, writing on your slate. Then he looked up full in my face; and if ever I saw a man plainly and distinctly in this world, I saw him.' 'Him! Whom?' 'God knows, Sir; I don't. I saw a man—and a man I had never seen in my life before.' 'You must be growing crazy, Mr. Bruce. A stranger! and we nearly six weeks out?' 'I know, Sir; but then I saw him.' 'Go down, and see who it is.' Bruce hesitated. 'I never was a believer in ghosts,' he said; 'but if the truth must be told, Sir, I'd rather not face it alone.' 'Come, come, man! go down at once, and don't make a fool of yourself before the crew.' 'I hope you have always found me to do what's reasonable,' said Bruce, changing colour; 'but, if it's all the same to you, Sir, I'd rather we should both go down together.' They went,—the captain foremost,—but no one was to be found. Taking up the slate, the captain saw the words, plainly written on it, 'Steer to the nor'-west.' Bruce averred it was not his writing; and the captain made him put down the same words, to compare them. The same he did with the steward, the second mate, and every man of the crew that could write at all; but none of the hands corresponded. Concluding now that some one must be secreted on board, the captain ordered all hands up for a search; saying, 'If I don't find the fellow, he must be a good hand at hide-and-seek.' When every nook and corner of the vessel had been searched, from stem to stern, with all the eagerness of excited curiosity, but no stranger could be found, the captain seriously consulted whether the warning ought not to be obeyed; and, finally, he directed the mate to change the course to nor'-west, and employ a trusty man to look out. About three o'clock, an iceberg was descried, and afterwards a dismantled ship entangled in it, with many human beings on board. On a nearer approach, she was found to be a mere wreck, her provisions exhausted, and her crew and

passengers almost famished. Boats were sent for them; and as one of the men from the third boat was ascending the ship's side, the mate started back in consternation; for it was the face, the person, the dress, of him he had seen at the captain's desk three or four hours before. When the hurry was over, and the barque was on her course again, the mate called the captain aside. 'It seems it was not a ghost I saw to-day, Sir. The man's alive. One of the passengers we have just saved is the same man I saw writing on your slate at noon. I would swear to it in a court of justice.' Together they sought out the man; and the captain, inviting him down to the cabin, begged he would do him the favour to write a few words on his slate. 'Suppose you write, "Steer to the nor'-west?"' The passenger, greatly puzzled at the request, complied nevertheless. The captain stepped aside, and giving him the slate again, with the other side up, he said, 'You say that is your handwriting?' 'I need not say so, for you saw me write it.' 'And this?' said the captain, turning the slate over. The passenger was confounded. 'I wrote only one of these. Who wrote the other?' 'That's more than I can tell you, Sir. My mate says you wrote it here—sitting at this desk—at noon, to-day.' Some further conversation took place, in which the captain of the wreck, being present, joined. He explained, that this gentleman had fallen into what seemed a heavy sleep, sometime before noon, and, on awaking, after an hour or more, had expressed his confident hope of deliverance, saying that he had dreamed of being on board a barque, the appearance and rig of which he described, exactly as it appeared when she hove in sight. The passenger averred that he had no recollection of dreaming that he wrote anything. He got the impression, he knew not how, that the barque was coming to the rescue. 'There is another thing very strange about it,' added he; 'everything here on board seems quite familiar; yet I am very sure I never was in your vessel before.' Whereupon Mr. Bruce told him all the circumstances of the apparition he had seen; and they agreed, in the conclusion, that it was a special interposition of Providence. This story was related to Mr. Owen by Captain Clarke, of the schooner 'Julia Hallock,' who had it from Mr. Bruce himself, about eight years after the occurrence, and has allowed his name to be used; adding, that he has lost sight of Bruce, but that 'he would stake his life upon it, that he had told him no lie.'

An incident in the life of the late Dr. Adam Clarke is, in principle, the counterpart of Mr. Bruce's story. During one of his preaching tours he told his son one morning that he had had a pleasing dream about going home and seeing Mrs. Clarke,

who was, he said, lying not in her own but the spare bedroom, and was looking very well. It so happened that Mrs. Clarke was in the spare bedroom for that night; and being, as she believed, quite awake, she heard the sound of her husband riding up to the house, putting up his horse and saddle, ascending the stairs, and entering the apartment; she then saw him walk round the bed, gazing upon her. Dr. Abercrombie has adduced another narrative extremely like this, about the Rev. Joseph Wilkins visiting his mother in a dream, as he thought, and terrifying her into the belief that he was dead or dying. Mr. Owen adds others of the same character. In each of them a visit is received, or believed to be received, by a person lying awake, from another who at the same hour dreams of paying such a visit, the conversation and all other details coinciding.

Here is a more startling case. Dr. Kerner relates* that on the 28th of May, 1827, about three o'clock in the afternoon, being with Madame Hauße, who was ill in bed at the time, that lady suddenly perceived the appearance of herself seated in a chair, wearing a white dress; not that which she then wore, but another belonging to her: she endeavoured to cry out, but could neither speak nor move. Her eyes remained wide open and fixed; but she saw nothing except the appearance and the chair on which it sat. After a time she saw the figure rise and approach her; then as it came quite close to her, she experienced what seemed an electric shock, the effect of which was perceptible to Dr. Kerner; and with a sudden cry she regained the power of speech, and related what she had seen and felt. Dr. Kerner saw nothing.

There are numerous examples, as well authenticated as such narrations can generally be, of apparitions at the moment of death. None of those adduced by Mr. Owen are better than one which some of the elder members of the Wesleyan Conference may recollect hearing from a junior brother many years ago. He said that when a thoughtless, if not sceptical, young man, he was sitting one evening with his sister and her little boy, when suddenly the window blinds flew open, and the figure of the lady's husband, who was serving in the Peninsular war, became distinctly visible to all of them. The child exclaimed, 'It's papa,' and was running forward, when it disappeared. In due time they heard that he had fallen in battle, mortally wounded; and, when dying, on that day and about that hour, was heard to exclaim, 'O that I could see my wife and my child!'

Mr. Owen professes not to construct a theory, but to collect

* Scherin Von Prevorst, pp. 138, 139.

facts; those facts consisting chiefly of spontaneous phenomena, rather than those which are evoked. Nevertheless, he affords a pretty clear insight into both the scientific theory and the religious belief, which, at least in his mind, are bound up with these phenomena. The substance of the former is, that there is in man not only a spirit, but a *spiritual body*; that 'these co-exist while earthly life endures in each one of us; that the spiritual body, a counterpart to human sight of the natural body, may during life occasionally detach itself to some extent or other and for a time from the material flesh and blood which for a few years it pervades in intimate association; that death is but the issuing forth of the spiritual body from its temporary associate;' and that it then becomes 'entirely and for ever divorced from it, and passes into another state of existence.'

If Mr. Owen's work had so engaged our confidence that we could regard it as an authority in these matters, we could have wished that he had said more distinctly whether he considers the essence of this spiritual body to be what is usually called human electricity; whether it is this that forms the inseparable vehicle of the immortal spirit, and constitutes the means by which it makes itself seen or heard without the grosser frame of flesh and blood. We should also have been very glad if he had explained where the connexion lies between these apparitions and modern table-rapping. The one he calls the spontaneous, the other the evoked, phenomena of the ultra-mundane; and he considers the former as a proper foundation for the study of the latter, into which he does not enter further than to relate how the mode of evoking spirits was discovered at Hydesville, about twelve years ago, and opened up, as he says, a new department in the science of the soul,—the positive and experimental. We shall do our best to fill up this hiatus.

Without prematurely accepting the theory that electricity, or something akin to it, is the inseparable vehicle of spirit,—that even during life the spirit can, with this vehicle, detach itself from the body under some peculiar circumstances, as deep sleep or trance; and that it finally departs with the spirit at death, and forms its residence till the resurrection,—we may admit that such a supposition affords a very plausible solution of many undeniable psychological facts, of which at least no better explanation can be offered. That electricity is the means by which the spirit pervades and operates on the material frame, is now almost beyond question. No one has more satisfactorily proved its presence and power in the human body than Rütter, who has invented an instrument for ascertaining its comparative force in different individuals, and in the same

individual under different conditions. It appears that the human body is a source of electricity, in the same sense as glass, wax, or hair; so that it can be elicited even if the body is insulated on a glass stool, whereas a machine requires to stand on the ground. The best-informed do not pretend to say whether human electricity is the same thing as chemical; for no one pretends to understand the essential nature of either; but those laws and modes of operation which are ascertained, are similar. In some persons electricity is much more freely elicited than in others. During the winter of 1683, the wife of Major Sewell, in New England, had but to shake her apparel in the evening, and sparks flew out with a crackling noise like bay leaves in the fire. Some ladies in this country, during frosty weather, can see sparks if they shake their woollen skirts while undressing in the dark; and it is very common to see them if a silk skirt is rapidly slipped down over a woollen one, after being worn all day.

Rütter's experiments go to prove that wounded or chapped hands produce a much more powerful current than whole ones.

The reader may, if he pleases, prosecute an interesting set of experiments on human electricity with very simple apparatus. We are all familiar with it,—the shilling suspended in a glass bowl or large tumbler, by a piece of silk thread about eight inches long. If a man holds this thread between his finger and thumb, his left hand being open and loose, the shilling will presently begin to perform a rotatory motion from left to right, that is, a direct one. If another man now places his thumb on the palm of the operator's left hand, the shilling will perform a direct oscillating movement, like a pendulum; and the same, if a female places her forefinger on his left hand. Now, if a man places his forefinger, or a woman her thumb, the oscillation is transverse. Let a female hold the thread, her left hand being open and free, there will be direct oscillation; not rotation, as in the man's case. Let her clench the fist of the left hand, the oscillation becomes transverse. Let a man place his thumb in her open hand, there is direct rotation; let a female do the same, there is reverse rotation. Let a man place his forefinger on her hand, there is reverse rotation; let a woman do the same, there is direct rotation. Let the lady take some feathers and hold them loosely, the oscillation is transverse; let her clench them tightly, it is direct,—just the contrary from what she experienced with the left hand. Let a stick of sealing-wax be laid on the tips of her fingers, there is transverse oscillation in the shilling; let it be balanced on her thumb, it becomes direct. Let her put her thumb (left hand of

course) in water, there is transverse oscillation; her forefinger, and it is direct. Here are deep secrets, of which the strangest seems to be that the electric current from the man produces rotatory, and that from the female oscillatory, motion in the shilling; but that he can communicate the rotatory through her, and she can produce the oscillatory through him, by a light touch of the thumb or finger. For some of these experiments we are indebted to Rütter, who has invented a fixed instrument called a magnetoscope, to preclude the possibility of muscular action, and prove the phenomena to be purely electroid. If any one mistrusts himself in this respect, let him commit the thread to some one who does not know what ought to be the result, with directions merely to hold it quite steadily. In some of these experiments a change of motion is produced rapidly and easily; but in some it is tedious, so that the less patient and less experienced had better drop the shilling a second or two between each, and steady it again in the centre.

What has all this to do with table-spinning? A great deal, indeed. Having proved the electric current within us, we apply it, not to a suspended shilling, but to a three-legged table on which we place the tips of our fingers, forming a human battery round it; and, after patient waiting, we see it begin to spin, and may subject it to further operations, and obtain from it results far surpassing anything dreamed of before. We may deplore the trickery, the delusions, the impiety, and the immorality which have been unhappily connected with the development of this phenomenon; but we cannot regard it as all trickery, still less reckon it inseparable from impiety. There have been cheats and jugglers enough in table-rapping; and it may be admitted that all professed mediums, plying their calling for money, are to be suspected and avoided. But the art has been practised by hundreds of guileless young people at their own homes; and the pity is, that the results of the mere scientific experiment are not sought in a sober, intelligent, and Christian-like manner. The attempt to prove that table-moving is the result of involuntary and unconscious muscular force, is now generally acknowledged to have been unsuccessful; and the fact can no longer be gainsaid, that a table which requires the united strength of two persons to move it only a few inches, can, if several persons touch it gently with the tips of their fingers, be moved several feet at a time, without the visible or conscious application of any force whatever. Now, they proceed to further tests; and, finding symptoms, however rude, of that intelligence and volition which have always been reckoned the peculiar attributes of an immaterial principle, they forthwith

conclude that the table is now possessed by some spirit from the unseen world, with whom they may converse, and from whom learn lessons of wisdom and knowledge. To ourselves it seems inexplicable that sober-minded and even scientific persons, wedded to the doctrine of invariable sequences, should believe a thing so inconsequent;—that having, by purely mechanical means, charged the timber from their own bodies with that which is the immediate agent of their muscular action, they should believe its action to be any other than their own. Does it not remind one of the ancient folly of making a god out of a stump of a tree, and falling down and worshipping it? The fact that thousands upon thousands—some say, several millions—in Europe and America have embraced this delusion within the last few years, is a startling proof of the indomitable disposition of man to believe in the supernatural, and to desire intercourse with the world of spirits. The frequent detection of *mediums* who have practised mere deception and imposture, has not led to any general discouragement of the profession; and, night after night, the young and unsuspecting attend the *séances*. Here they listen to what they believe to be voices from Hades, teaching all manner of abominations in morals, as well as errors in religion. Those who have been nursed in piety learn to trifle with holy things; the virtuous are led to the very verge of impurity; and the fallen revel in lasciviousness.

This wonderful table-rapping, however, may be tested by sober people, without a thought of anything ultra-mundane connected with their operations. It was so tested, to our knowledge, under intelligent though not highly scientific direction, at an evening party a short time ago. The table began to spin, when the operators had kept their fingers on it for the usual time, in the approved manner. They concluded that the electric current was established. They changed their respective places; it stopped, and would not work for about ten minutes. They concluded that the current had been broken, and was now re-established. One of them mentally willed it to stop, and it stopped, notwithstanding the desire of the rest that it should proceed. A gentleman willed it to lift up the foot that was under his hand, while he directed the opposite lady to bear as lightly as possible on her side of the leaf:—the foot rose; several ladies strove in vain to pull it to the ground, and an athletic man succeeded only by using a force that seemed likely to break it. The table was asked several questions, to which it replied, by lifting its foot and rapping, or rather stamping, in the fashion of which every one has heard. They satisfied themselves and the company, that the responses were

the mere echo of what was passing in their minds, and never went beyond their own intelligence. For instance: they asked how many persons were in the room. One of the operators had counted, and knew there were twelve; another who had not, believed, there were fourteen. The table rapped fourteen: and so they proved it in several instances when they differed in their own minds as to number; it went on to the highest that any of them thought of. Whenever they asked anything that none of them knew, the table was quite at fault. Fraud and physical force were in this case alike and completely out of the question. The facts were curious, and would be startling to those who had never heard, or at least never believed, the wonders of table-rapping. So far as they went, they tended to establish the theory that it is possible for a company of human beings to constitute themselves a galvanic battery, and charge a piece of inert matter in such wise that it shall respond to their volition and intelligence, like a limb of their own bodies. What seems wanted is, that such experiments should be repeated, extended, and directed by scientific knowledge. A few good electric or magnetic tests, it may safely be predicted, would satisfy any educated company as to what had got into the timber, putting out of the question any spirit, good or bad, other than their own.

It may be remarked that table-rapping bears a close analogy to the phenomena of house-haunting, so called. Those who have carefully winnowed among the stories of this class, bear witness that the predominant element in those best authenticated is mischievous, freakish, boisterous, rather than either solemn or dreadful; and Mr. Owen suggests the idea of spirits of a comparatively inferior order, imps of frolic and misrule,—not wicked, but tricky,—a class for whom the Germans have framed the epithet *Poltergeist*. As an improvement, we should like to suggest the possibility of small quantities of electricity being produced in the walls or floors, by the action of mineral substances; or discharged from the tips of tiny fingers belonging to 'the imps of frolic and misrule' in the nursery. The disturbances at the Epworth Rectory, which have been referred to by every biographer of the Wesleys, are, in some respects, strikingly similar to the pranks of a spinning-table.

If it can be established—as doubtless it can—that a current of electricity from the human body can be made to enter inert matter, and there show itself responsive to the volition and intelligence of the immortal mind within the body from which it flowed, it will go of course very far towards proving that this is the connecting link between mind and matter, the

immaterial and the material. And it seems, in the nature of things, very fitting that it should be so; that this mysterious agent which baffles every attempt to investigate its nature,—this which in its very essence seems to hold a middle place between the material and the immaterial,—should indeed be the medium of their action and reaction on each other. This opens a wide field for analogical reasoning and inference. For example:—If electricity in the human body is the inseparable companion of intelligent spirit, can it be supposed that all the other electricity in the world is destitute of it? The hair of animals is highly electric; is it through this that they make those communications to each other of which there are undoubted proofs in the records of animal instinct? An interesting, and we think not irrelevant, example occurred under our own observation within the last few months. There were two cats in one house in the predicament of the two women who came to Solomon for judgment,—one was the mother of a dead, the other of a living, kitten. The bereaved one tried once and again to steal a visit to the little nursling, which was about ten days old; but she was driven off by the rightful mother, Patch, or Cross-patch, so called from her bad temper. Soon after such a repulse, we saw her gently go up to Patch, who was about four feet from the kitten, and make strange-looking passes with her head about hers. It was not close rubbing; but there must have been a perfect contact of whiskers for several seconds, first on one side, then on the other. It was a bargain. Straightway she passed on to the kitten, and, lying down on her side, drew it to a close embrace, while Patch stood by consenting. We did not observe how soon the little thing appreciated the invitation to take nourishment from her, but from that day the two cats nursed the one kitten in perfect harmony.

Then, what of the electricity of the thunder cloud? Will science lead us back to the beliefs of our nursery, and make us little children again? Or will she revive in a modified form the beautiful mythology of the Greeks, which peopled all nature with gods? Will some *savant* at a future day feel persuaded that the great Creator has committed the elements of the globe to subordinate intelligence, to be wielded according to his will, this all-pervading electricity being the medium by which their powers are brought to bear on inert matter? Will any future commentator conjecture it to be in this sense that 'He maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers' (*Anglicè* 'His messengers ghosts, and His servants') 'a *flame of fire*?' Will science herself one day turn round on her votaries, and shiver to atoms their doctrine of invariable sequences, by assuring them that this all-

pervading element is the immediate agent of self-determining intelligence?

It is satisfactory, at least, to find that those who now lead the van in experimental science manifest no disposition to assert that electricity is itself life or spirit, but only deem it to be its constant accompaniment; and that Mr. Owen's theory of the spiritual body supposes it to be not controlling, but controlled by the immaterial principle, and by it carried whithersoever it will. This is illustrated by some touching narratives of dying mothers going off in spirit to see their children at a distance; the apparition being visible to those who were with the children, while those who watched the flesh and blood deemed that it slept, and were informed, when consciousness returned, that the children had been visited. It seems a sad pity that Mr. Owen's ghost-lore, which is for the most part very harmless in its tendencies, should be laid by himself as a foundation for the wicked delusions connected with rapping; that after demonstrating, to his own satisfaction at least, a vehicle of electroid character, subject to an immortal, heaven-born spirit, dwelling with it in the body, and travelling with it out of the body, he should lead his readers to suppose that this spiritual body with its master can be compelled to come and sojourn in a table at the bidding of any set of idle boys and girls that choose to place their fingers on the leaf, and that it must answer all their silly questions. It is no wonder that Mr. Owen found some difficulty in pointing out the connexion between ghost-lore and spirit-rapping; and so concluded his work with the ghosts, speculating on the character and uses of their intermediate state.

If we could for a moment entertain the idea of table-rapping being a means of communication with departed spirits, we must denounce it as that sin of witchcraft which all laws, human and Divine, have represented as rebellion against Heaven. The most particular account we have in Scripture, of a witch's proceedings, is in 1 Samuel xxviii., where we are told that when the Lord departed from Saul, and 'answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets,' he resorted to a witch, and required her to bring up, not an evil spirit, but that of the holy Prophet Samuel, who was displeased at the disturbance. Some have striven to show that the witch only pretended to bring up ghosts, and was herself terrified at the sight of Samuel. The obvious bearing of the whole passage, however, conveys rather that her alarm arose from the sudden discovery that her visitor was the King who had been wont to punish witches, and she supposed herself caught in a snare. When reassured by Saul, she described the ghost, which he at once identified, but,

as it seems, did not himself see ; and the conversation proceeded, either directly, or through the witch as medium. Although the former seems most literally on the face of the narrative, yet one would infer that as Saul did not see, neither did he hear, the Prophet. Let this narrative be compared with 1 Samuel xv. 23, and Isaiah viii. 19, and no one can doubt for a moment that to attempt to elicit communications from spirit of the dead is a most presumptuous sin. On this subject Mr. Owen says, that God protects His own mysteries, and has rendered it impossible to overpass the limits of permitted inquiry. 'If God has closed the way, man cannot pass thereon ; but if He has left open the path, who shall forbid its entrance?' This will not do for argument with the Bible in our hands. Did Mr. Owen forget—

' Man's first disobedience, and the fruit,
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woes ?'

The path to it was open, and it was a 'tree of knowledge,' 'a tree to be desired to make one wise;' yet God said, 'Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it.'

But we have already said, that there is neither reason nor common sense in supposing this table-spinning to be connected with ultra-mundane intercourse. It is not only inconsequent in itself, but contrary to all tradition, sacred and profane, that spirits of the dead should be commanded by mere human power, exercised by mechanical means. It has ever been held that such control is obtained only through the prince of darkness, and by those who have renounced their allegiance to heaven, and leagued themselves with the powers of evil ; and herein the very essence of the sin of necromancy has always been considered to lie. It can of course be imputed only in a very modified degree to those who think they can summon the spirits without any one's leave. It would be as unjust to charge them with the sin, as it is impossible to believe that they enjoy its powers without committing it.

The most serious part of this matter, after all, is its religious aspect ; and Mr. Owen has given us too clearly to perceive it. His chief boast is, that he has obviated the necessity for regarding the ultra-mundane as in the proper sense miraculous. There can be no objection to this position in itself ; but he avows his disbelief in miracles as 'incredible, inconsistent with the progress of our present knowledge, and at variance with the teaching of modern science.' He alleges the impossibility of any occurrence being deemed a miracle, because, for aught we know, it may be quite in accordance with some law of

nature as yet unknown to us. Indeed, he prefers the idea of change-bearing laws, on the plan of Babbage's calculating machine, to the admission of a miracle. Too plainly he has set down the miracles of the Saviour and His Apostles as premature exhibitions of the modern arts of mesmerism, clairvoyance, &c. ; for he speaks of the 'mistake as to their character' which was made by the people who witnessed them ; which mistake, however, he adds, may have been ordained by Providence for the advancement of Christianity. That is, in plainer terms, the Messiah performed feats of mesmerism, which the people were intended and encouraged to mistake for miraculous proofs of a Divine mission. As a natural consequence, our author believes the Bible in a very modified sense. There is no Gospel in his religion. He scorns the idea of a salvation procured for man by any vicarious work ; and as he does not consider that any one dies good enough for heaven or bad enough for hell, he regards the Hades state as a sort of substitute for purgatory, where good men learn to become better, and bad ones grow worse if they do not repent and amend. From this he thinks it harsh to preclude them, having adduced the case of a murderer's ghost, who during a whole year visited a lady almost daily for prayer and instruction ! It is to be feared that little more religion has been gained by any of those who are said to have been converted by spirit-rapping. They have not been turned to God in Christ, but have only renounced mere atheism, and learned to believe in a future state of retribution, and whatever else is revealed by the ghosts with which they converse. For the present this seems to be the highest reward of those who have been teaching men to despise a religion based on past events, and to seek one elaborated from present facts. We earnestly hope that the reaction may not be into the darkest infidelity.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Original Titles of the Hymns sung in the Wesleyan Methodist Congregations ; and the Names of the Authors.* By the REV. JOHN KIRK. 18mo. London. 1854.
2. *Charles Wesley, the Poet of Methodism : a Lecture.* By the REV. JOHN KIRK. 18mo. Third Thousand. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1860.
3. *The Penny Hymn Book ; containing One Hundred and Twenty-two Hymns, Selected for Public and Private Use. With a General Index.* By JOHN ALLEN, M.A., Archdeacon of Salop, &c. 24mo. London : Routledge and Co.

4. *Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion. New Selection. One Penny. 24mo. London: Religious Tract Society. 1859.*

AMIDST the crowd of steeples which strike the eye in crossing from Southwark to London, or still more, in traversing 'the silent highway' to Westminster, there is, we believe, but one which terminates in a composite capital, as though it were a column; and readers of architectural taste will probably regret that there should be that one to disfigure a substantial and well proportioned erection. The building to which it is attached dates from the great fire, or soon after, and is the fourth church which in succession has stood on that site since London became a Christian city. The spot is invested with peculiar interest by one circumstance. It is the birth-place of English congregational singing. Here, for the first time, as far as we can ascertain, our fathers enjoyed the great privilege of lifting up their voices to God with one accord in strains of sacred music,—a privilege now so prized that we are apt to wonder how they could have forborne it so long. But let us be thankful that it was not our lot to live in the days of that capricious changeling, Henry, or of his gloomy and superstitious daughter who succeeded him.

The time was favourable for the introduction of the practice. Elizabeth's accession had been waited for* with a natural

* Among the Select Poems published by the Parker Society is part of 'A Compendious Register in Metre, conteigning the Names and Pacient Suffryngs of the Membres of Iesus Christ; and the tormented and cruelly burned within England since the death of our famous Kyng of immortall memory Edward the Sixte; to the entrance and beginnyng of the reign of our Soueraigne and derest Lady Elizabeth of England Fraunce and Irelande, Quene, &c., &c.' This singular and affecting document is a rhyming abridgment of the *Book of Martyrs*, exhibiting considerable ingenuity in the construction of the verse. Every stanza concludes with the same line as the following:—

'When John Davy and eke his brother
With Philip Humfrey kissed the cross;
When they did comfort one another
Against all fear and worldly loss;
When these at Bury were put to death,
We wished for our Elizabeth.'

All true-hearted Protestants will believe their wishes to have been sincere, and the prayer for the Queen that follows no less so. We give the concluding stanza, and have modernized the spelling in both.

'Pray we therefore both night and day,
For her highness, as we be bound;
O Lord, preserve this branch of bay,
And all her foes with force confound;
Here long to live, and after death,
Receive our Queen Elizabeth. Amen.'

anxiety; and her cautious proceedings at the beginning of her reign had tended to fix the Reformation on a firm national basis. The Mass was overthrown; the revised Prayer-Book of Edward had been again revised, and the 24th of June, 1559, fixed as the period of its coming into use; and joy, gratitude, and hope, were the prevalent sentiments of all except those who adhered to 'the old learning.' For some unexplained reason, possibly the printer's delay,—for John Daye could not be hurried as printers are in these days,—there was an interval of nearly three months between the time fixed by law, and the actual commencement of the new service, which is thus recorded in Strype's *Annals*:—

'My diary observes that in the day of this month of September, began the new morning prayer at St. Antholin's, London; the bell beginning to ring at five, when a psalm was sung, after the Geneva fashion, all the congregation—men, women, and boys—singing together.'

England might mark that day with a red letter in her calendar, did she but know which it was. The singing of that first psalm was like the smiting of the rock from which the waters gushed forth to refresh the people of the Lord all through their desert journey. That music, however rude, was the prelude of a song which has not yet ceased; which will, in all likelihood, last till the heavens be no more, and the echoes of which will be heard in the beautiful city.

The practice soon became a custom. Under date of March 5th, 1560, we find Bishop Jewel writing to Peter Martyr as follows:—

'Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in Church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately, not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even in towns far distant, begun to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass priests and the devil. For they perceive that, by these means, the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.' (*Zurich Letters*, i., 71.)

How gladly would we know *what* they sang both in the 'one little church' and at the cross. But for both words and music we are left to conjecture. We should *like* to suppose that they used the book published, probably soon after his Bible, by

'Father Coverdale;' but certain recorded facts will not allow us to do so; for Coverdale's book was so well adapted to serve the cause of Reformation that it was strictly prohibited. And so effective was the prohibition that there are not only no traces of a second edition of it, (though of such a seasonable publication, if left to itself, there would have been many editions,) but all the traces of the first have been well-nigh lost. The same keen and determined hatred which pursued Tindal is observable in the case of Coverdale. Tindal's first edition of the New Testament, though consisting of three thousand copies, was so effectually sought for and destroyed, that not a single perfect copy—nothing, in fact, but a fragment of a few leaves—now remains. His second edition has perished in like manner; but one copy remains; that, namely, in the Baptist College, Bristol. Of Coverdale's Psalms, also, but one copy could be found, which was preserved in Queen's College, Oxford, and from which the Parker Society's beautiful reprint was executed in 1846. It is not at all likely, therefore, that they supplied either words or music to the congregations in Elizabeth's time. For these it is more likely they resorted to Sternhold and Hopkins, who, with their successors, Wisdom, Norton, Whittingham, and others, have had the honour of ministering to the devotions of their countrymen in greater or less measure from that time to the present. We will not enter into the question of their merits, which may be safely left to Bishops Beveridge and Horsley, with the aid of Mr. Romaine and Mr. Todd; but the hold which they have retained of the English people is something wonderful. About ninety years after they were first printed in Scotland, they were superseded there by Rous's version; but while the Parliament and the Assembly were busy with Rous, and for years afterwards, 'His Highness's printers' continued to affix Sternhold and Hopkins to their Bibles, though they deleted the hymns and paraphrases which made part of the original work. Even the loyalist ardour of the Restoration could not bring King James's, or Archbishop Parker's, or Bishop King's version into common use; and when King William and Bishop Compton joined to allow and recommend the New Version, it was only to such congregations 'as shall think fit to receive the same.' And to this day the Christian Knowledge Society offers purchasers of Prayer Books the option of having the Old or New Version bound with them.

Coverdale, however, notwithstanding the remarkable popularity of Sternhold and his continuators, is entitled to our grateful remembrance, on many accounts. He is the true father of our metrical psalmody, his volume having been published

about* a dozen years before any other of the same description, or adapted for the same purpose. It bears traces of his having resided abroad, in the supply of metrical hymns as well as versified psalms, in the metres he has employed, and the publication of music to which the hymns were to be sung,—points upon which Germany was, at that time, far in advance of England. It is, however, most remarkable for the spirit of piety which animates it. Coverdale wished to promote the reformation of morals as well as of doctrine. He deplores the follies of ballad-singing, and the vices to which it was made subservient; and would fain have ploughmen in the field, and women at the spinning-wheel and in the nursery, occupied with pure and elevating strains, drawn from the fountain of wisdom. Singing, in his view, was to be no mere musical performance, ministering

* We say about, for the volume bears no date, and the date of the proclamation in which it is prohibited is uncertain. Dr. Cotton, whose authority on such matters is high, places the book in the year 1539, which is as late as it can with propriety be placed; for as Coverdale was fortunate enough to have two editions of his Bible printed, with royal licence, in 1537, he most likely availed himself of the opportunity to print his Hymn-Book also. Two years afterwards the tide turned, the Act of the Six Articles was passed, and injunctions against English books, sects, and sacramentaries issued. Foxe, in his first edition, makes the list of prohibited books to follow the Injunctions, which would assign it to the year 1539; but he prefaces the document with a remark which makes the date doubtful; and the editor of the edition of 1846 supposes it to have been issued in 1546. Could we satisfactorily ascertain the dates of the list, the date of publication would still remain uncertain. (*See Fox*, ed. 1563, pp. 573-4; ed. 1846, vii., 566, 838, 839.) But it seems unlikely that a book published in 1539 would be prohibited in the same year, though it might well have been seven or nine years afterwards. The mention of Coverdale's name, too, in the body of the proclamation of 1546, favours the later date. As a specimen, though not a favourable one, of the verse, we give some lines from the title-page, on which they are at least as appropriate as at the end, where modern poets have placed similar passages. Southey's *Apostrophe to his 'little book,'* and Byron's derisive application of it, will at once be recalled to the minds of many readers; but we may well doubt if even the Poet Laureate, familiar as he was with our old writers, had any idea that he was following in the track of Coverdale.

'Go lytel boke get the acquaintance
Amonge the lovers of Gods worde
Geve them occasyon the same to avaunce
And to make their songes of the Lorde
That they may thrust under the borde
All other ballettes of fylthynges
And that we all with one accorde
May geve ensample of godlynges

'Go lytle boke among mens children
And get thee to theyr companye
Teach them to sing the commaundementes ten
And other ballettes of Gods glorye
Be not ashamed I warrande the
Though thou be rude in songe and ryme
Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
In godlye sportes to passe theyr tyme'

to vanity in the performer, or soothing the senses of the listener, and betraying him into superstition; but a product of joy in God, and a means of increasing it; a testimony to the truth, and a means of propagating it. A few sentences, taken from the preface, will sufficiently explain his views.

‘If we would open our eyes, and remember well what kindness it is that the Father of mercy hath showed us in Christ, and what great benefits He hath done and daily doth for us in Him and for His sake, we would not only fall down upon our faces and give Him thanks, but with loud voices would we praise Him, and in the midst of the congregation would we extol His name, as David and Asaph do, almost in every Psalm. For, doubtless, whoso believeth that God loveth him, and feeleth by His faith that He hath forgiven him all his sins, and careth for him, and delivereth him from all evil; whosoever he be, I say, that feeleth this in his heart, shall be compelled by the Spirit of God to break out into praise and thanksgiving therefore; yea, he shall not be content, nor fully satisfied in his mind, till other men know also what God hath done for him; but shall cry and call upon them as David did, saying, “O praise the Lord with me, and let us magnify His name together.”’

In surveying the progress of congregational psalmody, from the Reformation down to our times, we cannot fail to be struck with the number of versions of the Psalms which were attempted, and found more or less favour, though not to the extent of superseding the first. Mr. Baxter, in the preface to his *Poetical Fragments*, gives us an interesting notice of the state of things in the Nonconformist congregations, when, contrasting the effect of two publications by two brothers, the one controversial, by Dr. Simon Patrick, called *A Friendly Debate*, the other by Dr. John, of the Charter House,—the one inflaming discord, the other promoting peace,—he says of the latter, ‘He hath, with a pious skill and seriousness, turned into a new metre many of David’s Psalms; and the advantage for holy affections and harmony hath so far reconciled the Nonconformists, that divers of them use his Psalms in their congregations, though they have their old ones—Rous’s, Bishop King’s, Mr. White’s, the New England’s, Davison’s, the Scot’s, (agreed on by two kingdoms,) in competition with it.’ He makes no mention here of Mr. Barton, whose labours in this department were much encouraged by his friend, Sir Matthew Hale and himself; and whose *Hymns collected out of the Holy Bible* went through at least four editions, though, in the preface to his own version of the Psalms, ‘left fitted for the press under his own hand,’ and published after his death, he speaks highly of him; and still more highly of Sandys, only

complaining that, as he had employed unusual metres, his work was useless to the vulgar. A large and tempting field of observation is opened out in these names, but we forbear to enter it, lest we should be detained too long from our main purpose.

For the same reason, we pass lightly over the very curious and instructive controversy respecting the duty of singing under the Gospel dispensation, which, having been originated by the Quakers, and prolonged by certain Baptists, was carried on for many years during the seventeenth century. Some of the publications to which it gave rise are well worth reading still, as models of logical accuracy; others, as displaying a beautiful Christian temper; and it may be hoped that this question is now finally settled. We are surprised to find that it was agitated so late as 1708, when the *Eastcheap Lectures* were published: for it appears unlikely that three of those discourses would have been devoted to adducing arguments and answering objections, had the dissenting body in London been at rest upon the subject. From the preface to the volume of *Lectures on Singing*, we learn that the Weigh House congregation had made commendable attempts to improve the character of their singing, and it seems probable that singing classes were first formed in connexion with this lecture. The institution has been extensively revived in our times, and deserves well of our Churches. When properly conducted, such classes may prove of lasting service to both ministers and people. In five out of the six sermons which make up the volume, there are no quotations from the poetical psalms; but Mr. Gravener,* who preached the sixth, quotes several passages in the version of Tate and Brady, and thus suggests the query, whether they were used in his congregation? We know that in the congregation of Mr. Thomas Bradbury, another of the lecturers, Patrick's were in use; and the preacher was so much attached to them, that, when lecturing in another place, he prevented the clerk, who was giving out a stanza, with, 'Let us have none of Watts's whims!' Bradbury was a very able man, orthodox, copious, courageous, and witty. But it would have been an unspeakable loss if, either by raillery or argument brought to bear on Watts, he had hindered or diverted that noble benefactor to his country and his race. His Psalms supplied a want that had long been felt; his Hymns opened up fully a vein that had scarcely been worked at all before, but has since yielded incalculable wealth. All honour to his genius and his piety! That he is sometimes careless, feeble, and far too

* Better known afterwards as Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, author of those two celebrated sermons, *On the Name of Jesus*, and *The Temper of Jesus towards His Enemies*.

familiar, is readily granted; but what secular poet is faultless? If we honour the man who, in some spirit-stirring strain that kindles patriotic feeling, contributes to the welfare of his country, what does not he deserve, who trains the citizens of heaven for their future abode with such words as, 'Come, let us join our cheerful songs,' or animates them for their daily conflicts here with, 'Come, ye that love the Lord?'

To Watts, the Dissenters of England are most deeply obliged; and the Methodists scarcely less. The first Wesleyan Hymn-Book, published anonymously in 1738, before the two brothers obtained 'peace in believing,' contains seventy hymns, of which twenty-seven are Watts's; in subsequent years his stores were freely drawn upon for one of the books in most frequent use: and now that all former books are obsolete, or gathered up into one volume, about one-twelfth of that volume is traceable to him as its author. This is a much smaller proportion than in the first Hymn-Book, but the difference of size must be taken into account; and also that the hymns are mostly of the first class, and such as are very frequently in use. The great deficiency of the Wesley poetry, in hymns of adoration and thanksgiving, adapted for public worship, is thus supplied, in a way which would have been most agreeable to the respective authors, could they have been consulted,—for Watts was candid towards the Wesleys and their work,—and which may even now give them pleasure. With the modesty which generally accompanies talent of the highest order, Watts expressed himself strongly in favour of the superior claims of Charles Wesley; and said he would have given all the verses he ever wrote to have been the author of *Wrestling Jacob*.

Another writer, to whom the Wesleys were largely indebted at the beginning of their course, was of a very different school. 'Holy Herbert,' as he is often called, notwithstanding his ecclesiasticism, won the heart of that determined Nonconformist Baxter, by his fervent uniform piety. 'Herbert,' says he, (*ubi sup.*) 'speaks to God like one that really believeth a God, and whose business in this world is most with God. Heart-work and Heaven-work make up his books.' The Wesleys felt the same attraction. Five of his pieces found their way into the first anonymous volume; in their second publication the number had increased to forty-one, (which were mostly altered so as to adapt them for singing,) the brothers having in the mean time become better qualified to understand them, and evidently reading their old friend with a new relish. Some of these adaptations are very happy. We give two specimens in different metres:—

'THE SINNER:' from *The Temple*, ed. 1656, p. 30.

'Lord, how am I all Ague when I seek
What I have treasured in my memory!
Since if my soul make even with the week,
Each seventh note by right is due to
Thee.

'I find there quarries of piled vanities,
But shreds of holiness that dare not
venture

To show their face, since cross to Thy
decrees:

There the circumference earth is, heaven
the centre.

'In so much dregs the quintessence is
small:

The spirit and good extract of my heart
Comes to about the many hundredth
part.

Yet, Lord, restore Thine image, hear my
call:

And though my hard heart scarce to
Thee can groan,

Remember that Thou once didst write
in stone.'

'THE SINNER:' *Hymns and Sacred
Poems*, 1739, pp. 67, 68.

'When all the secrets of my heart
With horror, Lord, I see,
Thine is, I find, the smallest part,
Though all be due to Thee.

Thy footsteps scarce appear within,
But lusts a countless crowd;
The immense circumference is sin,
A point is all my good.

'O break my bonds, let sin enthral
My struggling soul no more;

Hear Thy fallen creature's feeble call,
Thine image O restore!

And though my heart, senseless and hard,
To Thee can scarcely groan,

Yet O remember, gracious Lord,
Thou once did'st write in stone.'

These adaptations, however, did not become general favourites, probably because but few of them were quite fit to be sung; and, in succeeding editions, the number was gradually diminished, until, in the Large Hymn-Book, as first published, only one was to be found; and even that has since been removed to make way for the hymn beginning, 'Father, whose everlasting love.' (No. 39, ed. 1831.) We regret its removal; for it exhibits the doctrine of free grace, in connexion with personal experience, in a clear and striking manner, and cannot be read without profit by the thoughtful Christian.* It is a dialogue

* 'THE DIALOGUE.' *Temple*, p. 107.

'Sweetest Saviour, if my soul
Were but worth the having,
Quickly then should I controll
Any thought of waring.
But when all my care and pains
Cannot give the name of gains
To Thy wretch so full of stains;
What delight or hope remains?

'What (child) is the balance thine?
Thine the poise and measure?
If I say, Thou shalt be mine,
Finger not thy treasure.
What the gains in having thee
Do amount to only He,
Who for man was sold, can see,
That transferr'd the account to me.

'THE DIALOGUE.' *Hymns and Sacred
Poems*, 1739, p. 120.

'Saviour! if Thy precious love
Could be merited by mine,
Faith these mountains would remove;
Faith would make me ever Thine.
But when all my care and pains
Worth can ne'er create in me,
Nought by me Thy fulness gains;
Vain the hope to purchase Thee.

'Cease, my child, thy worth to weigh,
Give the needless contest o'er;
Mine thou art; while thus I say,
Yield thee up, and ask no more.
What thy estimate may be,
Only can by Him be told,
Who to ransom wretched thee,
Thee to gain, Himself was sold.

between the sinner and the Saviour, and possibly has been exchanged, as noted above, because that form is scarcely suited for congregational worship. John Wesley never ceased to admire and quote Herbert; and testified his sense of the value of his early favourite, by publishing, in his old age, a selection from his works.

We have spoken above of two Wesleyan Hymn-Books, those of 1738 and 1739; the first anonymous, the second bearing the names of the two brothers. A third appeared the next year, a fourth two years after that; and from 1742 to the end of their lives, these marvellous men continued to publish sacred poetry, of various kinds, and in various forms. Between selections, extracts, abridgments, reprints, and originals, the press had no rest; lyrics, elegiac, didactic, satirical, and devotional, followed each other, or were intermingled as necessity required, or occasion was given; until the accumulation of so much poetry alone might seem to have been the labour of a life, did we not know that one of them preached and travelled incessantly, and the other was also for many years a laborious itinerant. Never was the Divine rule, 'To him that hath shall be given,' more fully exemplified; and never were augmented talents put to better purpose. The fecundity of Charles's genius, improved by study and daily exercise, was, without exaggeration, immense. Mr. Kirk, in the able and interesting lecture which stands at the head of this article, and which has done good service in drawing attention more extensively to the subject of the Wesley poetry, computes the total number of his poems at about six thousand six hundred; but, as he does not state the process by which the total is obtained, it does not command our unqualified credence. Enough, however, is certainly known to excite astonishment and gratitude, that having written so much he should usually have written so well.

'But as I can see no merit
Leading to this favour,
So the way to fit me for it
Is beyond my saviour.
As the reason then is thine;
So the way is none of mine:
I disclaim the whole design;
Sin disclaims, and I resign.

*That is all of that I could
Get without repining;
And my clay, my creature, would
Follow my resigning.
That as I did freely part
With my glory and desert,
Left all joys to feel all smart—
Ah! no more: thou break'st my heart.'

'But when all in me is sin,
How can I Thy grace obtain?
How presume Thyself to win?
God of love, the doubt explain—
Or if Thou the means supply,
Lo, to Thee I all resign;
Make me, Lord, (I ask not why,
How I ask not,) ever Thine.

The Wesley poetry already published must be divided into original and select. Taking the catalogue at the end of Mr. Kirk's lecture,* we find 51 articles inserted. No. 45, however, is but a reprint of 21; and Nos. 7, 29, 39, 41, are avowedly the works of other men; the total is thus reduced to 46, from which again we deduct 9, 19, 38, and 46, as not being hymns at all, though undoubted poetry. Nine more are selections and reprints, viz., Nos. 1, 8, 26, 30, 42, 43, 49, 50, 51, which brings the total of original publications, being hymns, to 33 of all sizes, of which 22 were published anonymously, 8 in the names of the two brothers, and 3 in the name of Charles Wesley alone. It is generally assumed that all the anonymous publications proceeded from his single pen; but this has never been, and cannot be, proved; and, unless we are much mistaken, John deserves to be credited with a larger share of the work than is commonly assigned to him. He was too modest to mark his own compositions, and the question must therefore remain undecided. Even those translations from the German, with which the earlier volumes are so greatly enriched, have sometimes been claimed for his brother, in default of any satisfactory evidence to establish the claim; and in despite of the internal evidence on the other side, which, to our apprehension, is most powerful. But having stated our impression, we willingly leave the matter, at least for the present, as he was content to leave it.

For a long while after the formation of the first Methodist Societies in 1739, there were many Hymn-Books in use among them. The psalms and hymns, as first published in 1738, do not appear to have had a wide circulation; but as republished first by John Wesley alone in 1741, then by the two brothers, enlarged, in 1743, and again, still enlarged, the next year, when the volume attained its full dimensions, they were evidently much in use; and, we should suppose, formed the staple of congregational singing, for which they were admirably adapted. They continued to be regularly used in London, and some other old societies, down to the year 1831. Next to these probably, came the Festival Hymns, which the preachers were charged to have at hand, and to sing at the proper times. Together, these formed a thin volume of surpassing excellence. The mention of it carries us back to early childhood, when some of 'the elders, who overlived Joshua,' were accustomed to produce it regularly as the year came round, to the perplexity

* We take this as sufficient for the present purpose, not as absolutely correct. It omits two or more publications; but as they are not original hymns, they do not materially affect the statement.

of many younger Methodists. We still remember the impression produced by the giving out of one of them, by the dim light of candles which scarcely penetrated the murky rime of a Christmas morning; when, as the clock struck five, a preacher, with silvery locks and a cheerful voice, read out, and some hundreds of people joined in singing,—

‘Let angels and archangels sing
The wonderful Immanuel’s name;
Adore with us our new-born King,
And still the joyful news proclaim;
All earth and heaven be ever join’d
To praise the Saviour of mankind.’

And we sometimes think, if the habits of modern society do not permit the continuance of such services, so much the worse for modern society. To return; beside the Festival Hymns and the Psalms and Hymns, there were the Hymns for the Lord’s Supper, usually bound up with the last mentioned; the ‘Select Hymns, with Tunes annexed,’ which went through six editions after 1761; and, above all, the ‘Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the use of Real Christians of all Denominations,’ of which there were twenty-one editions, printed in various places, in about five-and-twenty years. This was evidently the favourite. It contained the cream of many foregoing publications, and the hymns were all Wesleyan, *i.e.*, either originals or translations; and, as it had the additional recommendation of great cheapness, one hundred and thirty pages being sold, in very fair binding, for one shilling, its popularity was nothing wonderful. As ‘the Shilling Hymn-Book,’ some of our readers may have heard it repeatedly mentioned by their fathers or grandfathers.

From one shilling to four was a great step in advance, which John Wesley was not willing to take without feeling his way, and yet would take if he deemed it necessary. So, in 1779, he issued proposals for a Hymn-Book to be sold at four shillings bound, which the preachers were to circulate in all the Societies. In one of his letters to Mr. John Mason,* dated November of that year, he instructs his correspondent on two or three points, and requests him to ‘read the proposals for a General Hymn-Book in every Society to procure as many subscribers as he could, and to inform him, in January, how many he had obtained;’ he adds, ‘By your diligence and exactness in these particulars I shall judge whether you are qualified to act as an assistant or not.’ The number of subscribers obtained have

* An interesting account of this very remarkable man will be found in Dr. Adam Clarke’s *Letter to a Preacher*.

not been recorded; but as the publication took place in the next year, it is to be presumed it was satisfactory; and if not, the sale must have satisfied Wesley that he had not misjudged the wants of the Connexion. A second edition followed in 1781, a third (revised) in 1782, and so on till, in the year of his decease, the seventh edition issued from the press.

The number of each edition we cannot now ascertain, but it must have been large, or even Wesley, with all his resolution to meet the wants of the poor, could not have produced such a book for such a price. Five hundred and twenty pages for three shillings, which was the price of the stitched copy, was much below the rate of twelve pages a penny, which he had originally proposed to himself, and had long adhered to, in spite of the ridicule of little minds. He had taken immense pains with this book, selecting the materials with care, methodizing them with characteristic exactness, and transcribing it with his own hand. It was his last *great* work, and if he regarded it with a pleasure corresponding in some degree to the pains it had cost him, he may well be forgiven. His preface has provoked many a smile—as, indeed, more than one of his prefaces do by the combination of common sense with elegant humour—but it is only the hasty, or casual reader, who despises it. When the subject is inquired into, it is discovered that his strong expressions are not to be ascribed to parental or fraternal partiality, but are words of truth and soberness. Such, at least, has been the result of our own inquiries. Commencing with a prejudice awakened by the uncommon boldness of laudation which it displays, we have come by degrees to find it expressing our own deliberate judgment, 'No such Hymn-Book as this has yet been published in the English language.' It must be remembered that he did not intend by it to supersede either the Psalms and Hymns, where they were in use, or the Festival Hymns, but to compile, from the other very numerous publications which had preceded it, one which might be adapted to general use; not too small, lest it should want variety, nor too large, lest it should be bulky and costly. It is a good canon of criticism, 'In every work regard the writer's end;' and, tried by this rule, the patriarch of Methodism will not be found wanting.

In judging a book compiled 'for the use of the people called Methodists,' regard must also be had to the history and mission of that people. 'I have but one point in view,' said their Founder, 'to promote, as far as I am able, vital, practical religion; and, by the grace of God, to beget, preserve, and increase the life of God in the souls of men.' Accordingly, he

defines a Methodist Society as 'a company of men having the form, and seeking the power, of godliness.' To the grand simplicity of this design, every thing else, both in him and them, was to be subservient. The religion that was not vital and practical, the godliness which was not a thing of 'power,' was of small account; and the true 'power' of godliness was love; humble, grateful love to God; active, patient love to man. Hence the Hymn-Book is constructed on a different basis from most others. It is primarily not a form of public collective devotion, (though it will often answer that purpose well,) embracing all the objects which public worship is designed to promote; but it assumes that, among the people who use it, sinners are being awakened and converted, and conducted through the various stages of the Christian life; saints edified in fellowship, and accustomed to seek the welfare and salvation of others. It shows how all this is to be done, sometimes didactically, sometimes historically, but mostly in example, and thus supplies suitable expressions for every state of mind, and almost every state of circumstances, too, in which the man can find himself from the commencement to the close of the Christian life. It is a 'Pilgrim's Progress' not seen in vision, but narrated by the traveller himself, with this further difference, that the leading scenes and characters are not depicted once only, but many of them again and again, in vivid colours. As embodying a scheme of experimental and practical religion, and teaching in the most effective of all methods how to work out our own salvation, the book amply justifies the high eulogium of the sainted Fletcher, that, next to the inspired Scriptures, it was the greatest gift ever bestowed upon the Methodist Societies. Every leading truth connected with salvation is taught them in effect, if not in form; the *praxis*, so to speak, accompanying the rule, till, by repeated examples, its meaning becomes plain to the lowest capacities among those who desire to learn the art of holy living and dying. They are taught to go, 'taking them by their arms,' and to 'turn to the Lord,' taking with them 'words' which express most aptly what they do, or ought to, feel. For example, the discoveries and resolutions of the newly enlightened are embodied thus,—

'I must this instant now begin Out of my sleep to awake,
And turn to God, and every sin Continually forsake.
I must for faith incessant cry, And wrestle, Lord, with Thee,
I must be born again, or die To all eternity.'

Thus he seeks for fuller discoveries of his state, and emotions suitable to them,—

'Show me the naked sword Impending o'er my head;
O let me tremble at Thy word! And to my ways take heed;
With sacred horror fly From every sinful snare;
Nor ever, in my Judge's eye, My Judge's anger dare.'

Does the light, which shows him his danger, afford him a glimpse of his Deliverer too?—

'A poor blind child I wander here, If haply I may feel thee near;
O dark! dark! dark! I still must say, Amid the blaze of Gospel day,
Thee, only Thee, I fain would find, And cast the world and flesh
behind:
Thou, only Thou, to me be given, Of all Thou hast in earth or
heaven.'

He is now made ready to accept, and trust in, the atoning Saviour, and, led to the mercy-seat, exclaims,—

'Now Thy wrath I cannot fear, Thou gentle bleeding Lamb!
By thy judgment I am clear; Heal'd by Thy stripes I am:
Thou for me a curse wast made, That I might in Thee be blest,
Thou hast my full ransom paid, And in Thy wounds I rest.'

We might multiply these illustrations, and others relating to the higher branches of the same subject, till they filled a volume; but enough has been adduced to indicate the genius of the book, and show how it harmonizes with the spirit, and embodies what Wesley believed to be the providential purpose, of Methodism. The Song of Moses does not more surely testify against apostate Israel than this 'Collection of Hymns for the Use of the people called Methodists' will bear witness against them, if they suffer any thing to usurp the regard due to vital practical religion, or to lower the tone of Christian experience among them. They must then, indeed, if only for very shame, either lay aside, or recast, John Wesley's volume. We will not anticipate so sad a contingency; but rather thank God that such a 'witness' to the truth exists among them, and that hitherto* they have manifested no disposition to contradict, and still less to silence, the testimony. On the contrary, as the book was never so widely circulated, we may hope it was never more intelligently valued, than at present. To this result the publications of Messrs. Burgess and Kirk, in this country; of Mr. Creamer, in America; and, above all, the invaluable Life of Charles Wesley by Mr. Jackson, and his Journals and

* It was suggested some years ago, that the headings of the pages, which carry the title of each section throughout, should be discontinued. We see no valid objection to the proposal; in fact, it would be a return to the original form of the book, there being no head-lines in any edition published in Wesley's life-time.

Remains, edited also by Mr. Jackson, have doubtless contributed much.

Mr. Wesley also claims for his 'Collection' that it contains all the important truths of our most holy religion, whether speculative or practical; that it illustrates and proves them both by scripture and reason, and supplies cautions against prevalent error. And any reader who will take a compendium of religious truth, (such, for instance, as the Second Conference Catechism,) and compare it with the Hymn-Book, may verify the assertion, and in no small degree benefit himself by the undertaking. Of doctrinal hymns, strictly so called, he will find but few, and indeed one or two less in the book as it now stands, than in the book as Wesley left it. But all Christian experience presupposes Christian doctrine, and depends upon it for its nourishment. It is, therefore, scarcely possible to be experimental without being doctrinal; for, though the formal inculcation of truth may be forborne, we find it interwoven in the petition or thanksgiving, exhortation or complaint, as the case may be. A devotional formulary thus becomes an efficient instrument of instruction, and a means of preserving the knowledge of the truth. In these respects the Hymn-Book has been an unspeakable blessing to the entire community who have used it, and contributed not a little to that freedom from erroneous doctrine whereof Wesley was wont to make his boast; a boast which his successors have up to this time had no reason to retract.

On this point there are some just observations in the work of one who is confessedly a very able critic, and cannot be suspected of partiality to Methodism. They are in a less eulogistic strain than John Wesley employs in speaking of his brother's writings, but substantially confirm his view. 'It may be affirmed,' says Mr. Isaac Taylor, 'that there is no principal element of Christianity, no main article of belief, as professed by Protestant Churches,—that there is no moral or ethical sentiment, peculiarly characteristic of the Gospel,—no height or depth of feeling, proper to the spiritual life, that does not find itself emphatically, and pointedly, and clearly conveyed in some stanza of Charles Wesley's hymns. These compositions embody the theory, and the practice, and the theopathy of the Christian system; and they do so with extremely little admixture of what ought to be regarded as questionable, or that is not warranted by some evidence of Scripture.....In any system of public worship the *constant* element—that is to say, the *liturgical*—will always exercise a great influence over the variable part—the extemporaneous—in giving it tone and direction, and in preserving a doctrinal consistency in the pulpit

teaching. It will be so, at least, wherever this liturgical ingredient warmly engages the feelings of the people, and is performed with untiring animation. In communities that have laid aside liturgies in every other sense, the Hymn-Book, which they use, especially if psalmody be a favoured part of public worship, rules, as well the preacher as the people, to a greater extent than is often thought of, or than would perhaps be acknowledged. The Hymn-Book, to such bodies, comes in the stead of Creed, Articles, Canons, and presiding power. Isaac Watts is still held in grateful remembrance by those who use his devotional compositions; but there may be room to think that in the course of these hundred and fifty years past, he has rendered services to them in behalf of which they have not yet blessed his memory, and, perhaps, may never do so.*

When Wesley had completed his 'Large Hymn-Book,' he might reasonably have expected that his labours of selection and abridgment had come to a close. But a very natural demand sprang up for a book that might be carried in the pocket; and five years afterwards he produced such a book, stating that the book of 1780, large as it was, was not large enough to contain very many Hymns 'no way inferior' to those inserted in it. Some of these were now published in a beautifully printed little volume; about forty which were found in the Large Hymn-Book were inserted; the remainder would be new to most purchasers who were not possessed of the numerous pamphlets and other publications before mentioned. The whole were methodized upon the plan laid down before; and the Collection might be pronounced 'a gem' not merely for its type, which was almost worthy of Baskerville, but for its contents, concerning which the Editor wrote, 'Several of these I omitted before, because I was afraid they would not be understood by a common congregation. But if some do not understand them, I make no doubt but many others will; and, I trust, profit thereby. And the deeper the meaning is, the more it will profit those that do understand them.'

But this precious volume came too late. A bookseller was before him in the market, and no second edition was called for. Mr. Spence's Pocket Hymn-Book was mainly taken out of the Large Hymn-Book, with the addition of a few, which were specially adapted to the taste of common and uneducated Christians. Wesley sought to improve those who were to use his book; and to make it an instrument of literary elevation, as well as of religious improvement. The bookseller was willing

* *Wesley and Methodism*, p. 91.

to take religious people as he found them, and make a profit out of them if he could. The event justified his shrewdness; his book sold by thousands, and took a deep hold of the community, many of whom relished it all the more because of the compositions of a lower order, such as John Newton's Hymn 'The Beggar,'*—and that hymn of Robert Robinson, (if, indeed, it be his,) in which it is hard to say whether confused metaphor or pious sentiment is most remarkable, and which, accordingly, has found its way into so many collections, and been so largely used in private, 'Come, Thou Fount of every blessing,'—and a dozen others of a still inferior grade. The success of this volume was a source of mortification, as well as a pecuniary injury to Wesley; and in self defence he published a second Pocket Hymn-Book two years after the first. The Conference advised him to reprint the York Book entire at his press, and sell it by his own agents; but this he could not bring himself to; and accordingly, he made an abridgment of the Large Hymn-Book, adding a few other hymns which were in the obnoxious collection. His preface to this second 'Pocket Hymn-Book for the Use of Christians of all Denominations,' is one of the best compositions, even of this class, in which he so often distinguishes himself. His love of order, his good taste, his strong sense, and transparent simplicity are nowhere more clearly shown; and as the document has been generally omitted from the later editions of the book, our readers will not be displeased to see it here. After saying that he had reprinted the same Hymn-Book that had been printed at York, 'only with this difference,' he adds,—

'3. First. Out of those two hundred and thirty-two hymns, I have omitted seven-and-thirty. These I did not dare to palm upon the world, because fourteen of them appeared to me very flat and

* Newton was an apt and ingenious rhymester, and some of his hymns exhibit the best specimens of what Wesley happily calls 'prose tagged with rhyme' that we know. In the hymn referred to in the text, he has ventured on a very difficult metaphor; how he has treated it will be seen below. The same metaphor is treated by Charles Wesley; it fell in his way when versifying and accommodating the story of the Syro-phenician woman, and the comparison will speak for itself.

NEWTON.

'Though crumbs are much too good
For such a dog as I,
No less than children's food
My soul can satisfy;
O do not frown and bid me go,
I must have all Thou canst bestow.'

WESLEY.

'Nothing am I in Thy sight,
Nothing have I to plead:
Unto dogs it is not right
To cast the children's bread.
Yet the dogs the crumbs may eat,
That from the Master's table fall:
Let the fragments be my meat:
Thy grace is free for all.'

dull; fourteen more, mere prose, tagged with rhyme; and nine more to be grievous doggerel. But a friend tells me, "Some of these, especially those two that are doggerel double-distilled, namely, 'The despised Nazarene,' and that which begins,—

'A Christ I have; O what a Christ have I!'

are hugely admired, and continually echoed from Berwick-upon-Tweed to London." If they are, I am sorry for it; it will bring a deep reproach upon the judgment of the Methodists. But I dare not increase that reproach by countenancing, in any degree, such an insult both on religion and common sense. And I earnestly entreat all our preachers, not only never to give them out, but to discountenance them by all prudent means, both in public and private.

"4. Secondly. I have added a considerable number of the best hymns which we have ever published: although I am sensible they will not suit the taste of the admirers of doggerel. But I advise them to keep their own counsel, and not betray their want of judgment.

"5. Thirdly. Whereas in the other Hymn-Book the hymns are strangely thrown out of their places, and all jumbled together; they are here carefully methodized again, and ranged in their proper order.

"6. "But did not you, in a late preface, give any one leave to print your hymns that pleased?" No, I never did; I never said, I never intended, any such thing. My words are, p. 6, "Many have..... reprinted our hymns. They are perfectly welcome so to do; provided they print them just as they are." "They are welcome." Who? Why, Mr. Madan, Berridge, and those that have done it already, for the use of their several congregations. But could any one imagine I meant a bookseller? or that a Methodist bookseller would undertake it? to take a whole book out of mine? only adding a few shreds out of other books for form's sake? And could I mean he was welcome to publish this among Methodists, just at the time when I had engaged to do it myself? Does not every one, unless he shuts his eyes, see, that every shilling he gains by it, he takes out of my pocket; yet not so properly out of mine, as out of the pockets of the poor preachers? For I lay up nothing: and I lay out no more upon myself than I did forty years ago: (my carriage is no expense to me; that expense being borne by a few friends:) but what I receive is for the poor, especially the poor preachers.

"7. Upon the whole: although there are some hymns in this book which I should never have printed, but that I was desired to reprint the whole book, printed at York; yet I am bold to recommend this small Hymn-Book, as the best of the size that has ever been published among the Methodists. But it is still greatly inferior to the Large Hymn-Book; in which I believe the judicious and candid reader may find a clear explication of every branch both of speculative and practical divinity.'

How many editions of this volume have been issued we have not the means of ascertaining with exactness, but we know of

thirteen in England, and sixteen in Ireland, where its cheapness was, doubtless, a not less attractive feature than in this country.

It might have been supposed that the mischief occasioned by the bookseller's book had been counteracted, and so, in one sense, it was; but the heaven continued to work in another direction. While Wesley lived, no one dared to touch his works; but, a few years after his removal, there were found, in the high places of the connexion, one or two persons bold enough to tamper with the text of his large Hymn-Book, and sufficiently opinionated to insert more than one of the hymns upon which he had expressly pronounced an unfavourable judgment. It must be humiliating to a Methodist to look through the edition of the Hymn-Book published in 1797 by G. Whitfield. Here are hymns inserted by Wesley displaced to make room for others; hymns inserted which he desired to have banished as 'doggerel double distilled;' verses added which have no connexion at all with the hymns to which they are attached, and an apparently determined disregard of the order in which he had arranged the whole. The book is a specimen of editorial unfaithfulness which, happily, has no parallel in the annals of the Connexion. The editors had, however, so much shame as to omit from the preface the very characteristic passage relating to alterations of the hymns. Two years after the publication of this unworthy book the Conference appointed a committee to reduce it to its 'primitive simplicity, as published in the second edition,' with liberty to add explanatory notes, and a discretion as to the twenty-five hymns that had been added to Wesley's original number of 525. The next year an edition was published in which some improvement appeared. 'The despised Nazarene' was displaced by 'Join all the glorious Names,' and after this, by degrees, several of the interpolations were removed. It was some years, however, before the book became what it now is. The editions of 1805 exhibited a great improvement on the text of that of 1800; and as succeeding editors have made various changes, the book has by degrees come nearer to the 'primitive simplicity' referred to in the Minute of 1799, though that has never been exactly realized. The octavo edition of 1831 appears to approach as nearly to a standard text as can be expected. The *errata* are few, and mostly inconsiderable; the additional hymns are, in general, unobjectionable, and by better management of the details of printing, room has been found for nine or ten more hymns than were added in 1797, without displacing others. Among those thus gained are some universal favourites; and since those which were at first displaced from Wesley's book have now been so long absent from their places as to be for-

gotten, and their very restoration would be a novelty, we may well acquiesce in the loss. Our regrets for that loss have never been unmixed; for some of their substitutes are very much better adapted to purposes of public worship, and stand high with the great body of Christians who use hymns, as well as with Methodists. Such, in particular, are Nos. 253, 'Father, in whom we live;' 257, 'Glory be to God on high;' and 263, 'Father, how wide Thy glory shines,' none of which could be spared.

The same year which gave date to this generally correct and handsome edition, saw a most important addition made to the Hymn-Book by the publication of a 'Supplement,' which was thenceforward to be a part of the book. In this collection several of Charles Wesley's hymns were, for the first time, published from his manuscripts, others were selected from the collections published by his brother, and several more taken from other authors, which were appropriate to various occasions of frequent occurrence, but not otherwise provided for. The value of this Supplement lies in the greater number of hymns of adoration and thanksgiving which it provides, and especially in bringing into wide circulation and frequent employment, many of the Hymns on the Great Festivals, which, from the difficulty of keeping many books in use, had gone, or were fast going, into oblivion. Some of the hymns thus restored to the congregations are among the noblest strains ever composed by mortal man, and constitute a treasure of priceless worth. Among so much that is precious it may seem presumptuous to particularize, yet let us direct especial attention to No. 616, 'All ye that pass by;' 629, 'Christ the Lord is risen to-day;' and the next, 'Hail the day that sees Him rise;' to the majestic triumph of 'God is gone up on high,' 635; to the blending of dignified solemnity and joyful hope in 626 and 627; to the exultant strains on the kingdom of Christ, 'Earth, rejoice; the Lord is King,' 691; and, 'Come, thou Conqueror of the nations,' 692; to the three funeral hymns, which John Wesley was inclined to estimate even above *Wrestling Jacob* itself,—733, 'How happy every child of grace;' 734, 'And let this feeble body fail;' and 735, without part of which scarcely any collection is now deemed complete, 'Come, let us join our friends above;' to the 'Dying Malefactor's Prayer,' 759 and 760; and the 'Hymn to be sung at Sea,' 761 and 762; and last, but not least, to the version of Job's confession, 718, 'I call the world's Redeemer mine.' These have enriched the denominational psalmody in a degree which we should find it difficult to express in words; and, with the others which compose the Supplement, have rendered it unnecessary to resort to other publications for any of the needs of its diversified and multiplying

services of the Connexion. Its best thanks are due to the compilers, and especially to the editor for the time being, for the care, skill, and judgment with which they did their work; and it may well be congratulated on possessing, in the Hymn-Book as it stands, a metrical Liturgy superior to many of its kind, and second to none.

The people called Methodists may well be congratulated, also, on the beautiful and correct form in which the 'Collection of Hymns' for 'their use' is now found circulating among them, whether in the octavo or smaller sizes. We believe that but one serious* *erratum* has been detected in the book of 1831, which we have assumed as the standard; that, namely, by which the word 'faith' was substituted for the word 'blood' in line 3 of v. 5, hymn 759; and this, we are informed, has been corrected; while the process of stereotyping, which has been resorted to, affords a fair guarantee for the correctness of succeeding editions, since minor errors may be removed as they are discovered. There was a time when almost all Bibles and Hymn-Books of small size were thick and clumsy; as a late great man used to say, 'Like a pound of soap in one's pocket.' Mr. Bagster led the way more than forty years ago in giving the public beautiful and commodious pocket Bibles, and the patronage which he has received attests the value of his invention. The printers of Hymn-Books have, in course of time, availed themselves of it; and the flat Hymn-Books leave nothing to be desired in respect to convenience and portability. John Wesley published no small editions of the 'Large Hymn-Book;' but, could he return to his people, he would see with delight the thousands of pocket volumes which contain the whole of his great work, and the marrow of several other books in addition, which are yearly issued from his press; and not less welcome to him would be the shilling edition in 64mo, for the use of Sunday-schools. Little, indeed, is left to desire but that every purchaser may be able to sing with the spirit and with the understanding also, and that the number of those who use and enjoy the book may be still indefinitely and perpetually increased.

One typographical improvement we still desiderate; and will

* We say *serious*, for there are others affecting the sense, or the poetry, though not the doctrine; such as the substitution of 'rod' for 'nod,' in hymn 223, v. 4, l. 5. The poet wrote,—

He shakes the centre with his nod,
And heaven bows down to Jacob's God;

which is the reading preserved in all the editions of the 'Psalms and Hymns' which we have examined. It is but fair to add, that the error is of long standing, and is found, together with some others of a similar character, even in the *revised* third edition.

take leave to suggest whether the *paging* of the volume might not be dispensed with. It answers no purpose but to perplex, the reference to the hymn being always sufficient to enable the worshipper or the reader to find it with sufficient readiness. The editors of the book of 1797 introduced a note requesting that those who give out the hymns would mention the number of both page and hymn; but this has very properly been omitted of late years, and it is time the custom died out. If the numbers of the hymns were printed in a broader type, and placed also at the top of the page, the convenience of worshippers would be greatly promoted, and the book would be nearly perfect.

Another suggestion has sometimes been discussed, namely, that of printing an edition with scriptural references affixed. No doubt something may be said in favour of it as an edition for the study or the closet. The experiment has been tried on the Book of Common Prayer, and has, we suppose, answered the intention of the projectors. But the Hymn-Book may be safely left to defend itself, its scriptural character not being impugned except by those whose doctrinal views differ so widely from those of the people for whose use it is designed, as to leave no hope of convincing them. In fact, Scripture allusions and phraseology are so interwoven, that they may almost be said to be the warp and weft of the book; at least, when they are removed, there is next to nothing left. Let the experiment be tried on a verse which is not professedly a paraphrase. We will quote such an one, putting the texts referred to in it at the end of each line in the manner desired by some; the reader may then judge for himself.

‘Behold the servant of the Lord!—Luke i. 38.

I wait Thy guiding eye to feel,—Ps. xxxii. 8.

To hear and keep Thy every word,—Luke xi. 28.

To prove and do Thy perfect will;—Rom. xii. 2.

Joyful from my own works to cease,—Heb. iv. 10.

Glad to fulfil all righteousness.—Matt. iii. 15.

Many such examples might be given, but this may suffice to show how both the thoughts and the words of Scripture are inwrought into this wonderful book. But while we doubt the necessity of publishing such an edition, we have no doubt of the advantage which any reader would obtain who should endeavour to compile such a book for himself; and we advise some of our young friends who have both leisure and Bible lore, to attempt the task.

On comparing our modern with the earlier editions from '97

downwards for several years, we miss the explanatory notes then first introduced. We think the omission a great improvement; but in these days of advancing knowledge it is curious to look back and see what words were considered to need explanation two generations back. Here they are: 'amaranthine, unalienable, ineffable, effulgence, indissoluble, empyrean, meed, displacement, reiterated, deprecate, desecrate, symphony, panoply, phalanx, indubitable, Thor, and Woden;' to which, in the next edition, 'hecatomb' was added. Oddly enough, the first word on the list was to be illustrated, or justified, by a reference to *Paradise Lost*, b. iii., l. 352; as if the parties capable of making the reference could need the explanation! But there was then no *Butter's Spelling*, nor other etymological manual, taught in day schools for the poor; and our young people, if they smile at their grandfathers, may learn to be thankful for their own advantages.

Another noticeable omission is that of the assigned tune to every hymn; we find this feature of the book in three of the seven editions published in Wesley's life, and continued for several years after his decease. The selection was, of course, made from the *Sacred Harmony*; and as that book fell out of use, the references to it were useless. Into the general subject of early and late Methodist music we will not now enter further than to say that while there is reason to regret that the style which Wesley preferred and patronized should ever have become unpopular, there is also reason to rejoice that increasing knowledge of music among the people at large, is leading to the displacement of much that he would have disapproved, and to the revival of some of his tunes that had become obsolete. The Centenary Tune-Book, the Leeds Collection, the Westminster Tune-Book, have each and all done good service in this direction, along with the Companion to the Hymn-Book, which, for portability, cheapness, and general convenience, is not likely to be soon surpassed, and has found its way into almost all lands. The idea of fixing one tune to a hymn, except in the case of certain peculiar metres, if it was ever seriously entertained, has been long abandoned, and will never be revived. We may well rest content with one uniform Hymn-Book—the same in the length and breadth of the Connexion. Archdeacon Sandford, in a late sitting of Convocation, complained justly that often when poor persons removed from one parish to another they had to provide a new Hymn-Book: but the Methodist may travel through the United Kingdom, or emigrate to Canada, Australia, or South Africa; or, if a soldier, may be sent to any part of the Queen's dominions, and still find the same book in use. Wherever there

are Methodists there is singing. Father Coverdale's words are verified again and again. The sense of sins forgiven, which was the true inspiration of the Wesleys considered as poets, is the motive power in class-meetings, prayer-meetings, and more public means of grace; and whether on the Neilgherries, or the Rocky Mountains, in New Zealand, or Labrador, as the strain bursts forth from the lips which guilt had sealed, but which a pardoning God has opened, it awakens a responsive chord in the heart of the new comer, and assures him of a Christian reception in the spirit, if not in the very words, of the Wesleys.

'Welcome, Friend, in that great name
Whence our every blessing flows!
Enter, and increase the flame
Which in all our bosoms glows.

'Sent of God, we thee receive!
Hail the providential guest!
If in Jesus we believe,
Let us on His mercies feast.

'Jesus is our common Lord,
He our loving Saviour is;
By His death to life restored,
Misery we exchange for bliss:

'Bliss to carnal minds unknown;
O 't is more than tongue can tell!
Only to believers known,
Glorious and unspeakable.

'Christ, our Brother and our Friend,
Shows us His eternal love;
Never shall our triumphs end
'Till we take our seats above.

'Let us walk with Him in white,
For our bridal day prepare;
For our partnership in light,
For our glorious meeting there.'

External observers have sometimes speculated on what they have been pleased to call the 'Freemasonry of Methodism;' and the body may think itself happy in having in this book a bond of union at once so just and so strong, and a means of recognition so ready and so effective. Trained to draw their best thoughts from one source, and, as it were, to run their holiest affections into one mould, they ought to be able to understand and appreciate one another everywhere.

To some extent, also, they supply a bond of union with others. All Christians approach one another as they approach Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. And there is so much in the Wesley poetry that appeals to the heart of every Christian, that few collections of Hymns have appeared since the brothers began to publish which have not been indebted to them. A fuller illustration of this point may not be without its use.

Among the persons who had reprinted his hymns during his life, Wesley, in the preface quoted above, names two, Madan and Berridge. The former published a collection for the use of his fashionable congregation at 'the Lock,' containing in all 195 hymns, of which ninety-five, or almost half, were Wesley's. The work of the latter was designed chiefly for the use of the societies formed in Everton and the neighbourhood; and is a striking testimony to the zeal, simplicity, and candour of the author in his earlier days. Out of 340 hymns, no less than 230 are taken from the Wesleys, and these, he admits, are both the greatest and best part of the book. In the very curious and instructive preface, he avows himself an Arminian, resolved to hold his own opinions in meekness and charity; and exhorts his people to do the same. When, in after years, he fell into the very snare against which he here cautions his people, and made 'an endless clatter about election and reprobation, speaking the same thing an hundred times over,' this Hymn-Book became very obnoxious to him, and he is said to have burned every copy he could procure. Mr. Whitefield was more sparing in the use of his old friend's poetry, fifty-four hymns out of 290, less than a fifth, being taken from this source. But Thomas Maxfield did not scruple to take about a third, 141 out of 432, from his former instructor and guide; and Dr. Bayley, of Manchester, went further still, reprinting 354 of Wesley's Hymns in a book containing 505 altogether. Mr. David Simpson, of Macclesfield, was more sparing. His book has some remarkable peculiarities, among which are several so-called hymns in blank verse, extracted from Young, Milton, Addison, and even from Shakespeare; but little more than a fifth of the whole are from the Wesleys, or 103 out of 491. The anonymous collection said to have been used by Mr. Fletcher at Madeley, is more than half Wesleyan. Thus, putting these seven collections together as being the work of contemporary clergymen, who were, or had been, friends of the two brothers, we find a total of 2,600 hymns, of which 1,156 are Wesleyan,—an enormous proportion, certainly; in view of which it was at least very polite in Wesley to say that the gentlemen who had done them the honour to reprint their

hymns were perfectly welcome to do so, provided they did not mutilate them also.

The case of Toplady differs from that of the above-named ministers. He was never a personal friend of the Wesleys, or in connexion with them; and his hatred of their Arminianism was intense and enduring, leading him into virulent personalities which were a disgrace to his profession. Yet he was a sincere Christian, and a poet of no mean order; and showed his good sense and discrimination by the insertion of so many of Wesley's hymns in his collection, as make more than a third of the whole number, i.e., 164 out of 455. He studied Charles Wesley to so good purpose that it is not always easy to distinguish their respective productions. Not only have the editors of collections of hymns been misled, but even the editor of Toplady's Works inserts among his thirty-two hymns on 'Sacred Subjects and Particular Occasions' no less than eight* of Wesley's compositions. The substantial unity of true believers, notwithstanding their differences on many points, has seldom been more clearly illustrated than in this instance. Here we may see one of the most resolute and pugnacious Calvinists of his day leading his congregation to the throne of grace with the language of an equally resolute Arminian on their lips; and, on the other hand, it is clear that of the 218 hymns which 'the Supplement' contains, not one which was there brought before Methodist congregations for the first time has been more eagerly appropriated, or more generally used, than 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me.' It became forthwith a first-rate favourite, and in the thirty years which have elapsed since its publication, has been, to untold numbers of Methodists, what the author entitled it, 'A Prayer, living and dying.' We think it greatly improved by the condensation into three verses, as well as by one or two verbal changes introduced in passages italicized below, where we have printed the whole† side by side with a Latin version just pub-

* Among these is that one (No. xxviii., p. 453) which Mr. Isaac Taylor, many years afterwards finding among the papers of his sister Jane, published in her *Remains*, 'What, though I cannot break my chain,' &c. (No. 138, v. 4, &c.) The others are respectively numbered vii., p. 434; xi., 437; xx., 446; xvi., 452; xxvii., 453; xxix., 454; xxx., 455. (*Vide Works*, vol. vi., ed. 1828.) In this volume we find, also, what we do not find in either edition of Toplady's collection for the use of his congregation, that most extraordinary production,—the very *ne plus ultra* of devout nonsense which has found its way into so many collections, partly from a supposed adaptation to the use of sailors,—

At anchor laid, remote from home, Toiling, I cry, Sweet Spirit, come;
Celestial breeze, no longer stay, But swell my sails, and speed my way.
Fain would I mount, fain would I glow, And loose my cable from below;
But I can only spread my sail; Thou, Thou must breathe th' auspicious gale."

† "Rock of ages, cleft for me, Jesus, pro me perforatus,
Let me hide myself in Thee! Condar intra Tuum latus.

lished by Mr. Gladstone, which will be read with interest, not merely as the work of an accomplished scholar, but as still further illustrative of the substantial oneness which may co-exist with great difference on ecclesiastical as well as doctrinal questions. Mr. Watson once claimed the authorship of this favourite hymn for Charles Wesley; but no evidence was adduced to support the claim, and we are not aware that it has ever been renewed. Very probably, however, the Wesleyan hymn, 'Rock of Israel, cleft for me,' ('Hymns on the Lord's Supper,' No. 27,) suggested the idea to Toplady.

The collections compiled by modern Episcopalians do not generally contain so many Wesleyan hymns as those already noticed. That of the late Dr. Maltby has 17 out of 170; Mr. Simeon's, 35 out of 341; Mr. Bickersteth's, 80 out of 775; Mr. W. J. Hall's, 32 out of 303; Mr. Jeremiah Smith's, 45 out of 413; Mr. C. Kemble's, 45 out of 545; and Mr. E. H. Bickersteth's, 56 out of 531. The difference may be accounted for, in part, by the compilers having so many more excellent hymns to select from than could be found a century since. Still it appears that, of the whole number, more than one in ten are of Wesleyan origin.

The volume of Mr. Mercer has been reserved for a separate notice, as the most remarkable attempt of which we are cognizant to aid and elevate congregational psalmody in the Church of England. In addition to an ample supply of chants, both for the daily service and for the daily psalms, it contains 506 hymns, for which tunes are provided. Every tune stands at

Let the water and the blood,
From Thy *ripen* side which flow'd,
Be of sin the double cure:
Cleanse me from its grief and pow'r.

* Not the labours of my hands
Can fulfil thy law's demands;
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow,
All for sin could not atone:
Thou must save, and Thou alone.

* Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simple to thy cross I cling;
Naked, come to Thee for dress;
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the Fountain fly:
Wash me, SAVIOUR, or I die!

* While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my *eye-strings* break in death;
When I soar to worlds unknown,
See Thee on thy judgment throne;
Rock of ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee!

Tu per lympham profluentem,
Tu per sanguinem tepentem,
In peccata mi redunda,
Tolle culpam, sordes munda.

* Coram te nec justus forem
Quamvis totâ vi laborem,
Nec si fide nunquam cesso,
Fletu stillans indefesso:
Tibi soli tantum munus:
Salva me, Salvator unus.

* Nil in manu mecum fero,
Sed me versus crucem gero;
Vestimenta nudus oro,
Opem debilis imploro;
Fontem Christi quero immundus,
Nisi laves, moribundus.

* Dum hos artus vita regit;
Quando nox sepulchro tegit;
Mortuos cum stare jubes,
Sedens Iudex inter nubes;
Jesus, pro me perforatus,
Condar intra Tuum latus.

the head of a page, the hymns for which it is adapted being printed below. Being published in various sizes, and at a low price, it is generally accessible, and has been adopted in many churches; while, the organist of St. Paul's Cathedral having assisted in preparing the volume, it has been introduced at those special services on Sunday evenings which are among the most remarkable signs of the times. Considerably more than a third of the hymns are taken from the publications of the Wesleys, with much less of abridgment, and fewer alterations, than almost any preceding compiler has attempted. Many others are valuable additions to our stock of hymns, in the shape of new or revised translations from the German.

The nearest approach to an authorized hymnal for the English Church which we are likely to see, is the Psalms and Hymns published by the Christian Knowledge Society,—a cheap and sensible collection of 213 hymns and doxologies, of which 19 are traceable to the Wesleys. The Church Psalter and Hymnal of Messrs. Routledge is a very similar book, but marked by a somewhat warmer feeling. It also contains 19 hymns from Wesleyan sources out of a total of 217.

The Tractarian party used to complain heavily of unauthorized selections of hymns drawn from dissenting sources. But they have changed their tactics, and, for the little popular singing which their system allows, have provided materials to their own taste. Some of these are excellent after their kind; others are strongly tinged with the superstitions of Rome. One collection which we have examined contains two of Wesley's hymns, a second none, a third three, and, in addition to them, one by Logan, 'Where high the heavenly temple stands,' and 'Rock of ages, cleft for me.'

The mention of Logan reminds us to look for a moment across the border, where it is well known that every thing Wesleyan travels at a slow pace. Appended to an ordinary Psalm-book, printed at Edinburgh in 1841, we find a 'Collection of Hymns adapted to Public Worship, intended as a Supplement to the Psalmody of the Church,' an interesting and useful, though unauthorized, publication; containing 222 hymns, of which 22 are Wesley's. Dr. Wardlaw's selection exhibits a much smaller proportion, only 26 being found in 493. That the Synod of Relief should admit any into their collection surprises us more, than that those admitted should form but a thirtieth of the whole, or that they should be subjected to considerable alteration. Charles Wesley, however, would scarcely recognise his spirited exhortation, 'See all your sins on Jesus laid,' &c., in what follows:—

190 'On Him the guilt of sin was laid, The Lamb of God was slain,
101 His soul was once an offering made For every elect man.'

For this alteration of the last line there is the excuse that it is thereby made 'conform to the standards;' but these would not require that the poetic exclamation, 'The name that charms our fears!' should be watered down to, 'Thy name removes our fears;' nor that the last verse should be deprived of the forcible personal allusion it contains, and converted into a bare doctrinal assertion, thus:—

125 'All who believe in Him may know And feel their sins forgiven;
102 Anticipate their bliss below, And be assured of heaven.'

103 But to discuss alterations is not our present purpose. It
104 would require a volume; for few editors have abstained from
105 them, and fewer still have really improved what they have
106 altered. We have paused here for a moment, because the first
107 verse, in its original form, is endeared to us not less by its
108 original excellence, than by its association with two departed
109 friends. We have heard that William Dawson, when once
110 giving out the hymn at Birmingham, paused before he came to
111 verse 8, and introduced it by speaking of the door once opened
112 in heaven, and of the trumpet voice which cried four times,
113 'Come and see;' and invited his hearers, also, to 'come and
114 see' a greater sight,—the greatest of all sights. 'See,' he ex-
115 claimed with thrilling energy, 'all your sins on Jesus laid!'
116 We cannot recall his exact words; but John Angell James,
117 who was present, and was no mean authority, spoke of that
118 exhortation as one of the finest pieces of oratory he ever heard.

119 Glancing across the Atlantic, we find the General Convention
120 of the Episcopal Church authorizing a book of Psalms and
121 Hymns as far back as 1789; and, twenty years after, adding
122 other hymns, so as to make the total number 57. Watts and
123 Doddridge contribute more largely to this collection than the
124 Wesleys, who furnish but 3. A second revision in 1826
125 raises the total number to 212, and the number of Wesleyan
126 Hymns to 14. The General Conference of the Methodist
127 Episcopal Church, in 1824, directed the publication of a new
128 edition of the Methodist Hymn-Book, which, when published,
129 was correctly described in the title, as taken principally from
130 Wesley's; and in the preface, the bishops stated that 'the
131 principal improvements consisted in restoring those which had
132 been altered, as was believed, for the worse, to their original
133 state as they came from the poetical pen of the Wesleys.' The
134 General Conference (North) of 1848, judged that the book

might be much improved by judiciously multiplying the number of hymns, and by careful revision; and appointed a committee to prepare a standard edition. The preface to this book, signed by the bishops, is dated May, 1849; and expresses an opinion that 'from the number, variety, and adaptation of its hymns, it will not require another revision for generations to come.' The total number is large, indeed,—1148, and considerably more than one half of these are taken from the Wesleys, though often much disguised by alteration. The practice of recasting the hymns, so as to make a common metre into short, and an eight lines sevens and sixes into a common metre, appears to us highly objectionable, and inconsistent with what is due to the author, especially when that author was such a master of versification as was either of the Wesleys. One of their tenderest and sweetest hymns, 'Come, ye weary sinners, come,' (No. 29 in the English book,) consisting of three verses of eight lines, all sevens, appears here as consisting of four verses short metre. How far it is improved by the changes it has undergone a single verse may show:—

ENGLISH COLLECTION, Hymn 29, v. 3.

'Jesus, full of truth and love,
We Thy kindest word obey;
Faithful let Thy mercies prove;
Take our load of guilt away:
Fain we would on Thee rely,
Cast on Thee our every care;
To Thine arms of mercy fly,
Find our lasting quiet there.'

AMERICAN COLLECTION, Hymn 358,
v. 3, 4.

'Redeemer, full of love,
We would Thy word obey,
And all Thy faithful mercies prove:
O take our guilt away.
We would on Thee rely:
On Thee would cast our care:
Now to Thine arms of mercy fly,
And find salvation there.'

We have noted other instances of the same kind, as well as new readings of several passages, but spare ourselves the pain of transcribing, and our readers the pain of considering, them. How far it is fair to C. Wesley to mark the altered hymn as his, is the first question to be determined; which form is best adapted to general edification, is a second, and not less important, one. We will only say, if this is the effect of 'careful revision,' we trust to be long preserved from such a process. Of the book used in the Methodist Episcopal Church South, we have no information; but we note that the African Methodist Episcopal Church published, in 1845, a 'Collection of Hymns, designed to supersede all others hitherto made use of in that Church,' of which more than two-thirds are Wesley's, (354 out of 507,) and they are generally given with but little alteration. Those against which a decided objection would lie, are very few in number, and several even of them have been printed and sung in this country. With camp-meetings we have little practical

acquaintance; but it has always appeared strange, that hymns intended to be used at 'camp-meetings and revivals,' should be so greatly inferior to those which the same people use at other times. It were needless to prove that there is no necessary connexion between Revivals and bad grammar or bad taste; but many good men seem disposed to act as if there was, and thus bring discredit on a good work. The kind of excitement which African congregations are said to cherish, or at least sometimes to exhibit, may doubtless be promoted by singing hymns adapted to street songs and Nigger melodies; by frequent repetitions of the same words and strains; by boisterous acclamations and extravagant gestures; but whether that excitement is worth promoting, does not so clearly appear. John Wesley, in an admirable preface to the *Hymns for Children*, published a little before his death, commended his brother Charles for writing for children in such a way as not to let himself down to them, but to lift them up to him; and it would be well if the principle were more frequently acted upon in regard to adults. 'What's the News?' and a hundred other ditties palmed off upon the world for revival hymns, on both sides of the Atlantic, would then be left to the Africans, and soon die out, even among them. Some improvement in this respect the spread of education has undoubtedly effected, but there is yet room for more.

Returning to our own land, and resuming the former subject, we observe among the English Dissenters very great variety as to the use of Wesleyan hymns. The late Dr. Collyer incorporated 260 of them into his collection of 979; while Mr. Jay inserted but 44 in 531; Lady Huntingdon's Collection has 58 out of 311; the Congregational Hymn-Book, edited by Mr. Josiah Conder, 62 out of 620; while the New Book, prepared by a committee of the Congregational Union, has but 82 out of 1000. In the Collection of Dr. Rippon, the Wesleys supply 27 out of 588; and in the New Selection, the same number out of 684. These figures, at least, serve to show that no Hymn-Book is considered complete without some of the Wesley poetry finds place in it. Few, indeed, are the books from which it is wholly excluded. It has been said that it could never be adapted to Unitarian worship; but Mr. Martineau is either more ingenious, or more spiritual, than his predecessors; for we observe that 52 of them have been transplanted into his Collection; and, by a few skilful changes, the invocations which were addressed to our Divine Redeemer, are turned aside, or generalized, so as to accord with the peculiar opinions he teaches. And even the victims of the Mormon imposture have diversified their enthusiastic ravings with large extracts from some of the best pro-

ductions of John and Charles Wesley. The most devoted their admirers may be satisfied with the position they have attained; and as he contrasts the solitary volume sold at the house of a 'brazier in Little Britain,' with the hundreds of Hymn-Books in which the sentiments and spirit, and often the very words of that volume are now found, circulating wherever the English language is spoken, will not improbably recall their own familiar exclamation:—

'See how great a flame aspires,
Kindled by a spark of grace!'

It is right to explain, before leaving this topic, that in all our calculations as to the extent to which the Wesley poetry is used, we have included those three or four hymns of Samuel Wesley, father and son, which John and Charles published; and the translations from the German, which they were the first to render available for the use of English congregations. It has become the fashion, as German is more extensively known, to ascribe these exquisite productions to their respective authors, Gerhardt, Lange, and the rest. But this is a mere refinement; the substantial credit of the hymn is due to John Wesley, whose taste in selecting, and skill in translating, have made it our own. We know of but one German hymn which he adopted from an earlier translation, and that is now but rarely reprinted, or used. While the translations of other authors, before the days of Miss Cox and Miss Winkworth, would scarcely bear a second reading, the Wesleyan translations increase in popularity as they become known. We have also included among Wesleyan hymns, 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending,' having been long satisfied that the report which ascribed it to Thomas Olivers was an error. A controversy has lately sprung up on this question; but it will soon receive its quietus from the hands of that indefatigable hymnologist, Mr. Sedgwick, who is about to republish Olivers' Hymn on the Last Judgment, as published by himself in the first and second editions.

It is a cause of just regret, that the public cannot obtain the poetical works of the Wesleys. John's prose writings have been collected, and an admirable edition of them is kept constantly on sale, in two sizes. But the poetry of the brothers is only to be had second-hand, and by a long and costly process of collecting fugitive and detached publications. Many of these possess an intrinsic value far beyond what the occasion which called them forth would lead us to expect, and are adapted to the purpose of general and permanent edification; while others, if known and accessible, would be highly valued by all who wish well to

Evangelical Arminianism. Several projects for reprinting the whole have been from time to time discussed, but nothing has yet been done. The Methodists owe it to themselves not to allow the question to sleep any longer, but to give such a public expression to their gratitude and veneration for these illustrious men as would be implied in the publication of a complete and uniform edition of the Wesley poetry.

Such an edition should include, or be followed by, the hitherto unpublished poetical remains of Charles Wesley. These are somewhat extensive, but most, if not all, were carefully revised by himself, and are therefore ready for immediate publication. Many specimens of them have been given in the Connexional Magazine, and from time to time hymns and poems appear in print, the originals of which have been found in the possession of individuals in various places, and form no part of the manuscripts purchased from his heir, to which allusion is made in the advertisement prefixed to the Supplement. These should be carefully collected and published, as well as those which have been for years out of print: the whole would form a collection such as the world has never yet seen, either for size or quality. Surely, the present generation will not pass away until this good work has been, at least, begun.

ART. IX.—1. *The Overland Register.*

2. *The North China Herald.*

3. *The Missionary Magazine.*

4. *Parliamentary Papers on China.*

At length we begin to see through the cloud which long enveloped the Tae Pings,—the Chinese rebels, insurgents, or patriots, as they are variously called, according to the temper of the speaker. We do not say that the cloud is dissipated, but rifts have opened, through which we obtain distinct glimpses, though not a full view, of the long-concealed movement. From our side, several persons belonging to the western nations have advanced toward the Tae Pings, entered their territory, met with their marching bands, visited their cities, held communication with not only chiefs but princes of their State, and reached far inward toward their most sacred penetralia. From their side, they have invited foreign Missionaries to their seats of power; published books, on different subjects, which are in the hands of our fellow-countrymen; categorically replied, in writing,

to a series of questions on their belief and principles; shown themselves in military action at the city of Shanghai; and issued a formal manifesto, addressed to our ambassador.

Still further: instead of their leaders being, as hitherto, unknown personages, under a head whose very existence was seriously doubted, we have now distinctly before us the second dignitary in their ranks,—a cousin of their Emperor, and his first 'King,' or prime minister, in the person of Kan Wang, who was well known to—not one or two, but several—Europeans, especially Missionaries, before his elevation to his present eminence; and now once more is in free communication with his western friends. All this places us in a new position as to our knowledge of the Tae Pings; for, by the reports of individual observers, the trying process of hostile contact, the expressive testimony of their military and political writings, and by diplomatic papers, we are enabled to handle, and even turn round and look at different sides of that which has been hitherto intangible. Each of these sources of knowledge has given occasion to copious discussion in the English press at the Chinese ports, and to several communications from Missionaries of more than one denomination and country. Putting all this together, the information now before us is considerable in amount, and of high interest, and on some points does not want definiteness.

Whatever may be still left undecided, one thing is rendered not only plain, but impressive—the Tae Pings are not a myth, but a power. After ten years' of changeful fortune, sometimes seeming, to the eye of Europe, at the threshold of empire, sometimes almost forgotten, they now stand up before us, counting their subjects by tens of millions; lords of the finest territories of China,—of those from which we cheer our tables with tea and enrich our toilets with silk; holding the Grand Canal and the Yangtse as Tae Ping waters; sitting royally in the traditional capital of the empire, and thence shaking a menacing hand against the foreign dynasty at Peking. They are, without doubt, at present the most formidable native power in China, and, so far as we know, in eastern maritime Asia.

It may be well to state that amongst them no less than eleven dignitaries enjoy the title of King. 1. The Celestial King, or as we should call him, the Emperor. 2 and 3. Two nephews of his, who have respectively succeeded to two great princes, the Eastern and Western Kings,—the former of whom had wonderful revelations, and greatly corrupted the original Tae Ping tenets. 4. The Shield King, cousin to the Emperor, a disciple of a Swedish and friend of several English and American

Missionaries.* 5. The Assistant King. 6. The Flourishing King. 7. The Faithful King,—a successful soldier, with a good reputation for humanity. 8. The Presenting King. 9. The Attending King. 10. The Deputy King. 11. The Literary King.† Besides these, fourteen separate ranks of descending dignity are recorded, the highest of which is known by the title I.

In the course of last summer, (1860,) Mr. Edkins, of the London Missionary Society, with four companions,—two of whom were Missionaries,—started from Shanghai for the lands of the terrible long-haired marauders. They came upon a party of horse and foot, numbering a hundred,—‘men strong in muscle, free and bold in manner;’ but, instead of ill-using the ‘barbarians,’ or treating them as ‘foreign devils,’ they chatted freely, took tea and cake, and made themselves very friendly. At the first walled city belonging to the insurgents, they found the commander’s house graced by red and yellow banners, and himself in a stately robe and turban of yellow, rejoicing in the title of *I*—next below that of King. At the great city of Soochow, they were ushered into the presence of the seventh man in the kingdom,—the redoubtable Faithful King, fresh from great successes. The foreigners found the hall of audience carpeted with red; an avenue was formed by a hundred officers and servants, who held huge lamps between them, and wore robes and caps of red and yellow silk. At the beginning of this gorgeous passage, they were detained for a few minutes, while a salute of six petards was fired, accompanied by a deafening, but honorific, peal of gongs and music. Then they were conducted to the upper end of the living avenue, where was the only person in the room seated, in rich yellow robe, and gold-embroidered hat,—‘a man of small, keen features, wearing spectacles.’ No kneeling was demanded. They bowed, stood before him for a minute, and then were conducted to his right, where they stood, and entered into conversation. He enumerated several leading points in Christian doctrine, and was satisfied to find that they were believed by foreign nations; inquired what days we set apart for worship, and said that they were the same as theirs; expressed a desire for trade with foreigners; accepted a present of Bibles and other books; invited his visitors to remain for some days, and dismissed them with the same salute

* The Missionary by whom he was inducted into the Christian religion, M. Hamberg, himself traced his religious life and zeal to the labours of the Rev. George Scott, in Sweden.

† The Chinese names are, 1. Tien Wang. 4. Kang Wang. 7. Chung Wang.—See *North China Herald*, August 11th, 1860.

as on their entrance. They were escorted on horses, first to the residence of a high chief, then to their boats.

This seems almost incredible, so total is the change from all that Europeans have been accustomed to expect and receive at the hands of men in power in China; but its correctness admits of no question.

Soon after this, an item of news from the Tae Ping headquarters excited much interest in missionary circles at Shanghai. For about two years a young Chinese teacher, whose apparent piety made him very interesting, and whose near relationship to the Tae Ping himself invested him with national importance, had been missing. He had set out from the south, with the avowed resolution of making his way, through all obstacles, to the seat of his cousin, cherishing hopes of recalling the Tae Pings from the delusions and corruptions into which they were reported to have fallen. Had he perished by the hands of the Imperialists? or had he arrived, and forgotten his good intentions? or had he no influence, and remained hidden in the mass? The answer to these questions was, that he had been received with honour—been gazetted as the Shield King—invested with the dignity of premier, and had published books of state. Still the great question remained unanswered. How far had he retained or lost his Christianity?

Mr. Edkins and other Missionaries were planning a journey to Nankin, in order to communicate with the Shield King, when, lo! a messenger, bearing two letters: one from the Faithful King, whom they had seen at Soochow, and another from no less a person than the Shield King himself! The latter informed Mr. Edkins, that on learning of his visit to Soochow, and of the document which he and his companion had given to the Faithful King, (setting forth the true Christian doctrine, on the points where the Tae Pings were believed to err,) he had resolved to come from the capital to Soochow, in the hope of meeting them; and there he actually was, and urged that the Missionaries would come and visit him. To this the Faithful King added his own importunity; saying, that as the cousin of the Tae Ping and the head of the administration had come so far to see them, he hoped they would not refuse to come to meet him.

On their journey, they found the villages and towns desolated by fire, with here and there a solitary old man or woman musing or weeping over the ruins. This is the same spectacle of devastation which had been witnessed by the expedition under Lord Elgin, and the report of which went far to sink the reputation of the Tae Pings. An important fact, however, now comes to light. 'Most of the burning is done by the Imperialists before

the arrival of the insurgents, and what is done by the latter is generally in self-defence.' In fact, it is a common thing, as eye-witnesses tell us, for the Imperialist soldiers, on hearing a rumour of the approach of the enemy, to confine all their operations to destroying and retreating. The insurgents do perpetrate deeds of violence, but in this are far outdone by their rivals.

The Shield King was surrounded by officers, in robes and caps of red and yellow silk; himself in a rich robe and gold-embroidered crown. On seeing the Englishmen, he stood up, and received them with a hearty shake of the hand. He expressed his joy, inquired after old friends, and was pleased to hear of the progress of Christianity in China, and 'of the late revival in the west.' He added, 'The kingdom of Christ must spread, and overcome every opposition; whatever may become of the celestial dynasty, (the Tae Ping,) there can be no doubt concerning this matter.' Having dismissed his officers, laid aside his robe and crown, and entered into free conversation, he invited the Missionaries to dine; and proposed that, before dinner, they should sing a hymn and pray together. The King himself 'started the tune, and sang with remarkable correctness, warmth, and energy.' The next day they found him much agitated, because he had just learned that his letters to our minister at Shanghai had not been opened!—a proceeding which he naturally regarded as a direct insult.

He freely conversed with them on many matters of interest; among others, on the character of the Tae Ping himself; and 'before separating he proposed that we should commend each other to the blessing of Almighty God, and invoke His blessing in prayer.' They sang a hymn again; then the Shield King offered up a prayer for the destruction of idols, the conversion of heathen temples into Christian ones, and for the spread of the religion of Christ throughout China. And with an English shake-hands, and a Chinese present, the Missionaries parted from their powerful host.

Had any romance-writer, twenty years ago, pictured a scene in China, in which native and Englishman played the respective parts here described, what would have been thought of the probability of his conception? And had a missionary orator sketched it in anticipation for the year 1860, would not even zealous and confident Christians have regarded it as wild?

The Shield King has published a work called *Aids to Government*, containing seven different essays and papers, nearly all of which have also been published separately. The *Overland Register* for August 25th, 1860, gives a full and valuable analysis of this memorable Chinese publication. The first

article is a preface to the calendar for the year 1860. In this the Chinese superstitions about lucky and unlucky days are refuted, and the propriety of arranging the calendar after a European model vindicated. The importance of this, as a vehicle of popular influence, is great. In all countries the almanack is a power among the common people, and especially in Asiatic ones; even in France and Italy Protestants are so sensible of this, that they prepare, and succeed in circulating by tens of thousands, almanacks suited to correct Romish superstitions, and imbue the people with the views of the Reformed Churches.* In the new Chinese Calendar, nine rules for the distribution of the year are laid down, several of which institute festivals of at least an equivocal character; but the eighth reads thus: 'The Sabbath, or day of rest, is to be kept with pure bodies and hearts, in the reverent worship of the Heavenly Father, the Creator and Preserver, and of the Heavenly Elder Brother, the Redeemer and Saviour.'

The second paper in the collection is called, 'Four important Military Rules. In this is found the significant statement, that the men and officers have degenerated from what they were at the beginning; for then, it is said, 'the brethren only knew there was the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Elder Brother, and they feared not the devil;' hence they were ever victorious; and as the means of recovering their former virtues and prestige, the Shield King puts forth these precepts.

The third essay may be entitled 'The Rise and Progress of Religion.' Here the Shield King tells the people that they must first be convinced of their sins, both of omission and commission; that this is to be followed, not by the confession of the mouth, but the keen contrition of the heart. This is to be followed by reformation. The penitent is then to beseech the Heavenly Elder Brother to intercede for him with the Father, who will thereon regard his atoning merit, and impute to him the sins of the suppliant. Henceforth his sins are 'swept away beyond the region of the nine heavens,' so that however men may revile him, 'to him belong only thanksgiving and the voice of melody.' His 'being is now like a vessel cleansed, and to him belong all the beatitudes which Christ, the Heavenly Brother, the Saviour of the world, proclaimed upon the Mount.'

But for the use here of the *Tae Ping* barbarism of the 'Heavenly Elder Brother' for our Lord's name, we might imagine that we were reading a treatise by some Minister of our acquaintance. The writer of the analysis, evidently a Christian Missionary, says of this essay,—'There are no

* The titles are *L'Almanach de Bons Conseils*, and *L'Amico di Casa*.

exaggerations, or unhappy phraseology, which we could wish away.'

The fourth paper is a stirring official proclamation to his 'beloved brethren,' on temptations. He touches on the way in which they have gone astray; he knows that temptation must come; he would, therefore, have them guard their thoughts as they would a city; they must 'watch and pray, be firm, and not let the devil catch them sleeping.'

The fifth paper in the Shield King's volume is no less than a selection of hymns, twenty in number, taken from a book of ninety, finally revised for the London Mission by himself and another Chinese, when he was an humble teacher. The sixth is an Essay upon the Divine Nature as a Trinity in Unity. In the course of this thoroughly orthodox essay, the Shield King makes allusions to Popery, which show that it holds no high place in his regards. The seventh paper is a prayer for the public and private use of the insurgents. It begins in the following strain:—

'1. Kneeling on the earth we, (or I,) little children, praise the great supreme Ruler, the Triune, the Heavenly Father, the Heavenly Elder Brother, and the Holy Spirit. O God, Thou art omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent, most just and most kind. In the beginning, in six days, Thou madest heaven and earth, hills and seas, and all things. Still, by the wind and sunshine, by the rain and dews, Thou producest all things, and preservest and nourishest all mankind. From of old until now, there has been no man and no thing which have not partaken of Thy sustaining and preserving favour.'

It proceeds to enunciate a chain of theological thought, not in the fashion of prayer, but of what many pass in public for it; but at last prayer breaks through preaching, and the concluding paragraphs are the following:—

'O Heavenly Father, O Heavenly Elder Brother, is it that ye now no longer love us? Thou mayest, indeed, not love us, this multitude of little ones; but how can Thy kind heart, O Heavenly Father, bear to be thus (perhaps, bear to see our misery)? O Heavenly Father, O Heavenly Elder Brother, Thou hast said that Thy will shall be done in Earth, as in Heaven. Thou hast said, also, that where two or three agree in heart and mind, whatsoever they ask shall be done for them by Thy Father in Heaven. We, now, the multitude of little ones, take firm hold of these words of promise from Thee, O Heavenly Elder Brother. The things which belong to our pardon and happiness must be given us, and then will we rest a little. If they are not given, brothers and sisters, we will weep day and night, and cry aloud (lit. clamour) to our Heavenly Father.'

'We beseech Thee, our Heavenly Father and our Heavenly Elder Brother, to open wide their heavenly grace, and preserve and help our lord, the heavenly king, and our young lord! May the empire soon be settled! May the Gospel have speedy course till, through the eighteen provinces, the people shall all be the good sons of the Heavenly Father, the good brothers and sisters of the Heavenly Elder Brother, the good subjects of our heavenly kingdom; in this world having glory, and in the life to come everlasting happiness!

'Our parents, our brothers, our children, and all our relations, whether they are far or near, in foreign lands or in China, we commit them all into the powerful hand of our Heavenly Father, praying Him to preserve them and give them peace, to grant them clothes and food, to keep them from calamity and hardships, to receive their souls to heaven. All that we ask is in dependence on the great merit of the redeeming death of Christ our Heavenly Elder Brother on the Cross. May He intercede with the Heavenly Father, that His holy will may accord to our forgiveness and happiness, world without end, and bless the empire of our lord for myriads and myriads of years! Amen.'

Before the burst of supplication which closes this prayer, and which was inspired by the fallen and disorganized condition in which the Shield King found his cousin's forces, he directly alludes to the great event of Tae Ping's vision. He tells the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Elder Brother, that they 'called him to ascend to heaven, where, in soul, he saw Thee, O Heavenly Father, and Thou didst instruct him what he should do.' On this point, however, the information is not clear; but he has fully admitted to the Missionaries that his cousin holds materialistic views of God, that he has no proper idea of our Lord's Divinity, and that hence it is that he speaks of himself as being his brother. It is plain, either that the chief fully believes that a Divine vision called him and sent him forth to release China from the 'imps,' or that he is resolved to make his followers believe it; and that, great as is the light of the Shield King, he accepts this as a reality. It is to be noted, however, that he says, 'where *in soul* he saw thee,' a form of expression, which, if it has a force in the original similar to what it has in English, would suggest that he did not believe in a bodily conveyance of the Tae Ping to the glorious presence.

The final essay of this wonderful book is a memorial to the Tae Ping on methods of governing. It is the great state paper of the Shield King, and, whether in a literary, a historical, or a missionary point of view, is one of the most curious documents ever issued. First, the Shield King, moved, doubtless, by the corruption he found prevailing, insists upon the cardinal necessity of ruling by means of good men. Having laid this

foundation he proceeds to three topics,—the Influence of Example; Institutions and Laws; and the Use of Punishments. He shows that where neither law nor punishment can reach, influence may; bad practices, such as women binding their feet, and cock-fighting, may be thus discouraged; and in the same way good ones may be encouraged, such as founding hospitals and churches. Such plagues as 'stage-playing, nunneries, and monasteries,' would be remitted by the Shield King, not to the authority of magistrates, but to the influence of teachers.

After the doctrine of the Triune God, for which the monarch is to show his chief love, come such useful things as 'steamships, railways, electric telegraphs, globes, photographing apparatus,' &c. The prevalent religions of China should be discountenanced and the Gospel encouraged, by which the people will be transformed; but to this, he adds, more than human influence is necessary, even that of the Spirit of God.

Proceeding to laws and institutions, he urges that education should go hand in hand with law, and that the sovereign must possess the widest information, and not so establish any institution as that its details cannot be adapted to new exigencies. The first institution specified by the Shield King is the press: officers, *without power*, are to be established in the eighteen provinces, to receive the newspapers, with 'advertisements and illustrations, and transmit intelligence to his Majesty.' Foreign relations come next: foreigners are to be kindly treated, allowed to trade, but not presumptuously to go into the interior, 'lest trouble should arise;' but Missionaries may enter, and as many others as wish to teach useful arts. Inter-course is to be conducted on terms of equality; all exasperating assumptions and names must be put away; and then our analyst, to whom we are indebted for this information, gives a string of Chinese words which must be no more applied to strangers, meaning, we suppose, 'barbarian,' 'devil,' 'imp,' and so on. If superiority is to be shown, let it be by the excellence of the government, by good faith and righteousness. He then names ten Englishmen as his friends, and seven Americans, whose country he praises rather more than ours; and he also alludes to the other countries of Europe and Asia, giving the little he knows sometimes incorrectly but shrewdly.

His discourse on institutions includes—1. GOOD ROADS, with a Post Office at every twenty *le*. If any person can make *fire-carriages*, like those of foreign nations, they are to have a patent for a term of years. 2. SHIPPING. From steamships great benefits would result to trade, the defence of the empire,

and the suppression of piracy; and even the sands of the Yellow River might be cleared away. 3. BANKS OF ISSUE ought to be established. 4. MANUFACTORIES should be promoted; authors of *important* inventions should have a patent for ten years, and of less important ones for five. 5. MINES should be encouraged; the discoverer to have a fifth, the state a fifth, and the workers three-fifths. 6. POSTS, POST OFFICES, and NEWSPAPER OFFICES are to be established. 7. GRANARIES, and TREASURIES for the payment of officials, who are to be punished if they take a farthing from the people beyond their salaries. 8. COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS at all market-places. 9. The next three heads establish BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS for the relief of the poor, and for promoting education; HOSPITALS and DISPENSARIES; VILLAGE MAGISTRATES; and, under them, VILLAGE POLICE. The following three decree the suppression of the usage of imputing crime to relatives, of infanticide, of wine, spirits, tobacco, and opium. Then follow ordinances to the effect that heathen temples and monasteries should be converted to Christian uses, and their funds devoted to hospitals and other benevolent institutions; stage-playing, foolish festivals, and the like, being discountenanced, the patrons of them are to be encouraged to give the money formerly so spent to benevolent purposes. Geomancy is to be put an end to; and the nine classes of idlers (happy China, if it can count the classes of them) are to be put away. Even the rich who do not work six hours a day, are to be counted idlers, and may be punished. Then follow two heads upon solidity and regularity in buildings, with surveyors for lands, roads, bridges, &c. Finally, asylums for the lame, blind, deaf, and dumb, are to be established; homes for widows, orphans, and solitaries (does this mean old maids?); and the twenty-fourth article, the final one, is this,—‘The SALE OF OFFICES should be strictly prohibited. The way to advancement is open to energy and talent; all back-stairs recommendation is to be deprecated. He who seeks it, and he who gives it, should both be degraded.’

On the subject of PUNISHMENTS the Shield King is rather perplexed, through his fear that the sixth Commandment forbids taking life. Still he concludes that even capital punishment is devolved by God upon the ruler. The criminal must have religious instruction, and be executed by hanging. But, above all, the people must be instructed in the Ten Commandments, that they may know what is right, and, if they must be punished, will have only to blame themselves.

On this sketch of national institutions by a modern Asiatic we shall make no remarks; for such as could be made are as obvious to every reader as to ourselves. We will only thank

the writer in the *Overland Register*, who has put us in possession of its contents. With regard to the provision directed against opium, we have good reason to believe that the Tae Pings are not faithful to their principles; but that, on the contrary, our unscrupulous countrymen who trade in it, find a good market among them, just as among the Imperialists.

And as to the Shield King himself, in whose conduct and writings we have seen so much that is hopeful, even he has fallen into the prevalent error of his associates on that most difficult of social questions, in all countries under heathen influence,—polygamy. To please his cousin, he has married more wives than one,—we do not learn how many; neither can we gather whether he is or is not disposed to defend this flagrant breach of Christian morals. In many things he has laboured to reform his brethren; in this he has made a fearful concession to their prevalent corruptions.

The scene now changes: an American Missionary, Mr. Holmes, leads us on a visit to Nankin, to see the mysterious potentate, the Tae Ping himself. He is a young man, who has been a short time in the country, and who is said to have little or no knowledge of the dialect spoken. On reaching the capital he was received by a tall officer in a 'brassy helmet' and gaudy robe, who, instead of the usual Chinese epithets to foreigners, called him his 'Ocean Brother,' and, drawing him to a seat of honour beside him, at once entered into conversation. Horses were soon sent by Chang Wang, (the Literary King,) with an officer to escort the Ocean Brother to his own house. Many of the city gates were closed, many of the streets in a ruinous condition; and, after a long ride, he found the residence of the Literary King, a building not much differing from ordinary Chinese ones, except that, with its appurtenances, it covered about an acre of ground. This state of the town, and poverty of the building, agree tolerably well with what was more recently found in Peking. They were received by 'a venerable-looking and very polite old man,' a kind of chaplain to the Celestial King, (Tae Ping,) whom Mr. Holmes takes to be the one really religious man, or at least the one man of sincere religious feeling whom he met with at Nankin, and whom moreover he pleases himself by always speaking of as His Ex. Mr. Pung. He conversed freely and earnestly of his faith, and made one remark, the importance of which is very great, and especially as reported by a witness like Mr. Holmes, who feels strongly against the Tae Pings. 'He remarked that we had long had the Gospel, whereas they had had it but a short time, and acknowledged our ability to instruct them in religious matters.'

We have placed in italics the words which (if they rightly represent the Tae Ping feeling) indicate our hope of future influence over them.

After supper they were led into the presence of the Literary King, and the reception was much in the style first described at Soochow, as observed by the Faithful King. He spoke of the common faith of the celestial dynasty and the western nations, and added, 'The tree has its root, and the stream its fountain, and man his origin. He is a very unfaithful man who is unfilial to his earthly parents; how much more he who neglects his Heavenly Father, the Giver of all good! He is the Creator of heaven and earth and all things, yet this Manchoo dynasty, with its adherents, persists in worshipping wooden and stone idols. Are we not right in styling them "imps?"' Mr. Holmes did not think so.

He was told that the Tae Ping was much gratified at his arrival, and would receive him next morning. He at once declared that he could not kneel; it was therefore resolved to defer his presentation for a day, to arrange the matter. On the morning, however, two edicts were issued, one from the Tae Ping, and the other from his son, the Junior Lord. They were intended to proclaim to foreigners the high claims of the new dynasty, and at the same time its amicable disposition. It appears that Tae Ping now occupies himself entirely with spiritual matters, and that his son is, in all temporal concerns, representative of the dynasty. He is spoken of as the adopted son of Jesus, in that horrid jargon of mythological relations which the Tae Pings have introduced into their quasi-Christian theology. The King's own edict is a mass of absurdity, if rightly translated, in which the good point is the equality of all nations as bound by duty to the same God; and the bad ones are many, chiefly a revolting jumble of the name of the Father, the Son, and the Tae Ping, making the three one. The edict of the Junior Lord is more intelligible. To the outer tribes he says, 'I commend you because you glorify the supreme true God. I commend you because with a faithful heart you trust in Christ.' And after other commendations, is one, 'because of the toil you undergo in preaching the Gospel.' And further on occurs this sentence, 'All should bring forth the fruits of faith, that they may appear before the Supreme through Christ's blood poured out.' Yet, in this same paper, we have the jargon, 'my Heavenly Grandfather, my Heavenly Father, my Father.'

From all this, contrasted with the teaching of the Shield King, it is plain that the less instructed Tae Pings know a little of Christianity, and make much of what they know, but mix

it with heathen conceptions. The better-instructed Shield King, on the other hand, presents almost a full and fair view of our religion, conceding only on a few points to established Tae Ping phrases and practices; but those points are of vital importance.

But to return to Mr. Holmes: the King was to see him; would he kneel? No. Would he put on a yellow robe and hood prepared for him? No. Would he accept a title? No. When they all bowed to the Supreme, would he? He might and he might not. Mr. Holmes is of opinion that the right rule of etiquette is leaving every nation to use its own; and his interpretation of this rule is, that every court is to receive every stranger just in the way he may represent to be that of his own country,—a piece of manners, according to which a New Zealand Chief at the White House ought to claim that the President should rub noses with him. Owing to the fact that the Tae Pings had not yet fully accepted Mr. Holmes's travelling code of etiquette, difficulties as to his reception arose.

Still he was comfortably entertained in the palace of the Literary King, and had frequent familiar interviews with him. He found many boys in the house, it being, he says, their custom to seize upon boys, retain them by force, and use them as servants when young, as soldiers when grown up. He saw their worship; they sang, read a prayer, and *burnt* it, then sang, and parted. In a conversation which followed, the Literary King defended their departures from real Christianity, on the dangerous ground that they had an additional revelation. Here Mr. Holmes had the better in the argument.

The next day was the great procession to the palace of the Celestial King. It was headed by brilliant banners, followed by soldiers; then came the Literary King in his sedan, covered with yellow satin and embroidery; next the foreigner on horseback. Other 'Kings,' with their retinues, joined by the way, and the people attended to gaze. In the audience hall he was presented to two brothers, two nephews, and a son-in-law of the Tae Ping. A vacant seat at the head of a recess showed where the potentate was not. The whole assembly turned their faces toward the seat, and uttered a prayer to the Heavenly Brother; then in the opposite direction, and uttered one to the Heavenly Father; after which they kneeled toward the throne and repeated a prayer to the Tae Ping. They then rose up and sang, thus concluding the service. A stone altar stood in front of Tae Ping's seat, and on this a fire was burning, and in an outer court the 'body of a goat and a roast pig were lying,' with other articles, on tables. The meaning of this we are not told; but the great void remained unfilled. Tae Ping had his notions of etiquette as well

as Mr. Holmes, and the stranger, thus tantalized with the all-but presence of the King, was obliged to return without having seen him.

Mr. Holmes, with a becoming anxiety to correct the manifest errors of Tae Ping doctrine and practice, prepared a paper setting them forth, and quoting the passages of Scripture with which they were in contradiction. This document the Literary King returned to him, he says, because 'he was afraid to present it to his chief;' and he was of opinion that he should find no one courageous enough to keep it in his possession. Yet, only a paragraph or two further on he relates how, when at the point of departure, he showed it to 'His Excellency, Mr. Pung,' the kind, cordial old man, 'clutching the paper eagerly, asked if he might keep it. If Tien Wong (the Celestial King) had erred in any thing, he might change it.'

On announcing his intention to leave, he was entreated to remain; then invited to return with his family, and live in the house of the Literary King, who urged upon him a large sum, as a parting present, to 'buy tea,' and insisted on his accepting at least a piece of silk. Mr. Holmes's conclusion is, 'I found nothing of Christianity but its names applied to a system of revolting idolatry..... They speak of the wife of the Heavenly Father, and the wife of Jesus; also the senior Western King has married a sister of Jesus, the daughter of the Heavenly Father..... Furthermore, they hold that Tien Wong (Tae Ping) is the Son of God, as really and in the same manner as Jesus..... Polygamy is another dark feature in the system. The Tien Wong has married thirty wives, and has one hundred women in his harem. The other Kings are limited to thirty.'

These are the leading points in Mr. Holmes's long list of hot and heavy accusations. He adds another, with equal confidence, which would be more serious than all the rest put together, if it was proved; namely, that they will not stand an appeal to the Bible, but claim to teach us, and correct it by their new revelation. This is partly sustained by his own evidence as to what the Literary King said; but contradicted by it as to the declaration of the man whom he describes as a kind of chaplain to the Tae Ping. It is, however, the critical point. Considering the extremely few opportunities of learning Christianity enjoyed by Tae Ping, or any of the leaders, before the recent accession of the Shield King, the wonder is not to find our religion mixed with mythology and superstition, but to find these tinged with any hue of the Gospel. Therefore, revolting as are the errors of Tae Ping, we should not be disheartened if only he acknowledged the Bible as the standard of appeal. Mr. Holmes denies that the fact (which he admits) of their desire to have Christian Mis-

sionaries among them is any proof of their readiness to be taught. At all events, it opens a door for those who are disposed to take the pains to strive against their errors, and to endeavour to lead them aright.

It is a great advantage to us that Tae Ping and his court have been shown to us by one having an unfavourable impression; for we are thus put on our guard against too high an estimate, which the Shield King might lead us to form. Nevertheless, as he has been raised to pre-eminent position by Tae Ping, and has been allowed to put forth, in authorized publications, his views on manners, doctrines, and institutions, we must take his testimony as of great importance; and where it conflicts with that of Mr. Holmes, we must each, as his lights enable him, judge between the impressions of a visitor, strange to every thing, and balked in his great object of a personal interview with the Emperor, and a leader of the movement, knowing all of which he speaks, whether disposed to use perfect candour or not.

The Shield King, in reply to formal questions addressed to him by the Missionaries, gives the following statements. Tae Ping believes that he has had two visions, one in 1837, when he was taken up into heaven, and God conferred on him a sword, a seal, and a commission to subdue all the imps (demons, idols, and Tartars), granting him the co-operation of Jesus and the angels. Again, in 1848, when greatly distressed, God, bringing Jesus with Him, appeared to him to teach him how to bear the burden of government. These are all his revelations, and in these the Shield King believes. Tae Ping is displeased if the visions of the Eastern King are questioned. The Shield King does not believe them. The Eastern King is still called the Holy Spirit; and Tae Ping has no conception of the scriptural meaning of that term. He calls himself the natural brother of Christ, because he has no just idea of His Divine nature. He calls all the ten Kings his natural brothers; he looks upon Christ as the greatest of God's messengers, on himself as the second. The presentation of meat, tea, &c., as offerings, is merely as thank-offerings, and looked upon as useless by Tae Ping, who appointed them 'in accommodation to the crude notions of a people just emerging from heathenism;' neither he nor the Shield King employs them himself. (Does not this give us the natural history of many corruptions of Christianity?) Burning prayers originated in the same way, but will be given up. At the end of a prayer prepared for the soldiers by the Shield King, it is ordered that, after being used, it shall not be burned. Tae Ping is aware that polygamy is anti-Christian; the Eastern King had the principal hand in introducing it. The Lord's

Supper is not known among them; baptism is administered, but not to all; the mode is by sprinkling, the chest being afterwards washed. The whole Bible has been printed and published, and is regarded as of 'supreme authority;' Tae Ping reads it diligently, and has committed large portions to memory; he also reads the *Pilgrim's Progress*. 'We desire to have Missionaries: should they come, chapels will be built for them, and they will be allowed to teach and to carry on their work in their own way, according to their own views.' He then adds, that his book has been revised by Tae Ping, who erased words which represented God as not material, and who does not consent to alter his established phraseology.

Mr. Holmes's fiery denunciation is not supported by *his own* evidence in many particulars, and in some is flatly contradicted by it.

The Emperor's chaplain explicitly told him that we could teach them; and, on another occasion, that if the Tae Ping had erred, he could learn; and so far from finding nothing, as he says, but the name of Christianity, he found himself, evidently an angular, onward young man, little used to the ways of polite life, received with great respect, entertained with hospitality, made a subject of royal praise, as a *preacher* of Christianity, and entreated to prolong his stay, all because he was a 'brother,' an 'ocean brother.' These remarkable facts ought not to have closed his eyes to corruptions or vices, but they are proof to the world that the idea of Christianity had a mighty power at the Tae Ping head-quarters.

The next scene in which we clearly witness the Tae Pings is a martial one. On the morning of Saturday, August 25th, 1860, the town of Shanghai was disturbed by the sounds of conflict. The Imperialist forces were flying before their foes, and the two rushing in together through one of the city gates. But here came into play a new power. For some time English and French troops had occupied the place, and our countrymen, though fighting against the Imperialists elsewhere, fought for them here. They turned all the force of English art and arms upon the advancing Tae Pings, whose communications had been unanswered, if not unread. A notice of our intention to oppose any 'armed band' attacking the place had been sent up the river, but had not been received. When they found themselves fired upon, 'they waved the hand, begged our officers not to fire, and stood there motionless, wishing, doubtless, to open communications. No notice was taken of this, but a heavy fire of rifles and grape was kept up on them for about two hours, when they retired, with a loss estimated by some at forty, by others at two hundred.'

They were at least brave; but were we without crime? On the Sunday morning they were found advancing on the French quarter. After they had been driven back, the French soldiers rushed frantically among the peaceable inhabitants of the place, murdering men, women, and children, without discrimination. One man was stabbed right through, as he was enjoying his opium pipe. A woman who had just given birth to a child was bayoneted without the faintest provocation. Women were ravished and houses plundered. Unless the articles were immediately yielded, the bayonet was called in to decide the question. After this sort of work had been going on for some time, the beautiful temple of the Queen of Heaven was set on fire by the French; and the fire thus begun destroyed the whole suburb, where the richest natives dwelt. The above extracts are from a long letter narrating the events in the *North China Herald*, of August 25th, 1860; and the editorial account, though strongly anti-Tae Ping, does not invalidate, but either explicitly or tacitly corroborates, these horrible facts.

While old Christianized nations were thus acting, what were the men whose knowledge of our religion is so slight, and whose profession of it is so equivocal, doing?

Some of them surrounded the house of Mr. Mills, a Missionary; and their leader, 'an exceedingly bright-looking man,' dressed in satin, and wearing on his arm three bracelets, one of jade stone, one of gold, and one of silver, telling him not to be afraid, asked him if he too worshipped God. On learning that he not only did so, but had come to exhort the people to do the same, he exclaimed: 'That is right; you have nothing to fear from us.' Then taking out a slip of paper he requested him to fasten it to his door. It read thus: 'The Chang Wang Li (the Faithful King, general of this expedition) commands that the houses of foreigners at Shanghai are not to be injured by his officers and soldiers: should any one disobey, he will be beheaded.' The house was respected. The family, in making their way to another part of the town, had to pass through numbers of the rebels, but escaped all molestation; the words, 'We also worship the Heavenly Father,' being a passport. Therefore, whatever violence they may at other times practise, here they held a conduct which contrasted favourably with that of their western opposers, especially with the atrocities of our allies. And this conduct was in keeping with their habitual feeling toward foreigners, and with their avowed policy, as afterwards disclosed by the following proclamation from their chief, found on the walls of a Roman Catholic church when they had retired.

'The Chang Wang herewith commands his officers and soldiers that they may all be thoroughly acquainted with it. Having received a heavenly decree to lead my soldiers everywhere to fight, the soldiers have already come to Shanghai, and have pitched their tent at the chapel. Now it is ordained that not the *minutest particle of foreign property is to be injured*. The veteran soldiers are supposed to be acquainted with the heavenly religion, that foreigners together with the subjects of the Celestial dynasty all worship God and equally reverence Jesus, and that all are to be regarded as brethren (or to belong to the body of brethren). The veteran soldiers will surely not dare to offend. But I have been thinking that the soldiers who have but recently joined us are ignorant of this being a place of worship, and are unable thoroughly to understand that their religion is one with, and their doctrine has the same origin as, ours; hence the propriety of issuing this command. Because of this all the soldiers, whether veterans or otherwise, are commanded to be fully aware, that, hereafter, should any one be found guilty of injuring the property, goods, houses, or chapels of foreigners, it is decreed that he will be decapitated without mercy. Let all tremble and obey. Don't disobey this command. 7th month, 15th day.'—*North China Herald*, p. 153.

The next intimation from the insurgents was the formal protest of their chiefs addressed to the representatives of foreign powers, in which a full profession of belief in the Christian religion, and of a desire for concord and amicable trade with the people of other lands, was not only embodied, but made the groundwork of their appeal. If it be said that their Christianity is hypocritical, at all events it sweeps idolatry out of the way, and lays them open to the influence and instructions of Christian teachers. And if their friendship for foreigners be only policy, how great an advance is such a policy on all hitherto practised in China, and how different the relation in which it places them to us, from any ever taken by the Mandarins! They *say* we are one in blood and one in faith; and profess to accept the practical consequence of this fact,—friendly intercourse, and equality of rights. We want no more in China than this; and they not only concede but proffer it. Is it not the result for which our statesmen have planned, our ambassadors sued, our forces fought, our press written, and all our merchants longed? And yet when a people or party, which has proved itself to be the strongest in the country, boldly avows common faith, common origin, and common interest with us, we call them hypocrites, heathens, heretics, Turks, cut-throats, leave their letters unanswered, and shoot them down! It may be that there is much to be said for this policy; and if it is to be followed, those who take the responsibility must prepare themselves with a great deal to say. Much

of the hard language may be true; but would it be less so concerning their opponents the Imperialists? and if not, on what ground do we show a preference for one over the other?

We do not wish to fasten any particular charge on Mr. Bruce; but, on the contrary, would make the greatest allowance for the fact that, being new in the country and anxious as to the relations to be established with all parties, he was likely to fall into the course of ignoring the rebels till they came into sight, and of beating them off when they did. The officials from whom his information would come were generally violently anti-Tae Ping; and it is the almost inevitable doom of men in high office to believe in official information, which in all countries is liable to be narrow, and in Asia is all but certain to be incorrect, unless the officials are *avatars* of discernment and impartiality. We regret the impression generally prevalent that he permitted himself to be unduly influenced by the French Consul and his exceedingly zealous wife; but do not pretend to know whether it was or was not founded in fact:—in either case the grave harm of damaging his influence with his own countrymen resulted. Mr. Meadows, like our other officials, is plainly in the state of mind constantly displayed by old Indians, who would tell you that natives were not to be believed in anything; and yet, when it came to public measures, would implicitly follow the lead of the moonshees. So our Chinese interpreters and consuls, in the abstract, are clear enough about the tricky nature of Mandarins, but in any question between them and Tae Pings will swear by them.

Mr. Bruce deserves credit for resisting the proposal of his dangerous friends at the French Consulate, to undertake to defend Soochow, where the Romish priests were anxious for the defeat of the insurgents; and Mr. Meadows's own letters show that the suburbs of both Hangchow and Soochow were fired, not by the Tae Pings, but by 'the authorities,' before the enemy closed with them. He even says, 'It is greatly doubted whether the rebels were nearer Soochow than the opposite bank of the lake, on the opposite side of which that city stands.'* Yet these Imperialists, who burn down their own towns, because of their fears, are the people whom our sagacious representatives discuss the expediency of upholding by force of arms.

Mr. Bruce writes to Lord John Russell with much confidence, as if his information was all sound, and that of the Missionaries very hollow; yet he says of the attack on Shanghai, 'It took us by surprise. It was not known they were so close; and from information I received two days before, I was led to infer that if

* Blue Book, p. 62.

they did attack, it would not be for a fortnight.' And it is too plain that much more of Mr. Bruce's information was only of similar accuracy. He, with boyish zest, insists on the view that their friendly reception of Missionaries arose from their expectation that we would yield up Shanghai to them; yet all their conduct since has shown that this was simply the official notion, or the French one, conveyed to our minister: and, as if to punish him, the only rag of defence thrown by Lord John Russell over the naked fact that the Insurgents had been slaughtered without warning is, that the Missionary, Mr. Edkins, in private conversation, had, as an individual, given the Tae Pings his own opinion, that if they attacked Shanghai they would be resisted by the English. The oddest thing in Mr. Bruce's conduct is, that out of the abundant stores of information from Missionaries, whose standing and knowledge of the country entitled their representations to have weight, he quotes nothing; but selects for Lord John Russell the letter of Mr. Holmes, because it supports his own ideas, and forgets to say how little he knew of the language or people. It is treating Lord John Russell ill to make him quote Mr. Holmes in the House of Commons, as he did, as an authority. We are sorry to say it, but we must state the truth, even though it bears hard on Mr. Bruce, that his analysis of the edict published by the insurgents on the occasion of Mr. Holmes's visit, is palpably unfair. It totally keeps out of view the many points which illustrate their desire to encourage foreigners and Missionaries, and tries to make an impression that their design is the opposite, from one or two expressions. This part of Mr. Bruce's communications leaves upon any reader, with the document before him, a very uncomfortable impression.* We are afraid to say that that is not in Mr. Bruce's papers, but we have not found it,—any allusion to the conduct of the rebels in their attack in protecting foreign life and dwellings. If it is not there, how is a poor Foreign Minister to do else than Lord John Russell did in replying to Colonel Sykes,—appear ill-informed, if not mis-informed, to those who know all sides, while seeming to make a display of facts to those who know nothing?

The *Overland Register* † is able to lay before its readers 'A Month among the Insurgents,' in the form of a journal by the Rev. Griffith John, of the London Missionary Society; thus offering to us both the latest, and by far the fullest, view of this anomalous and almost incredible movement. It is a long document; and we regret that our limits hinder us from transferring it entire to our pages; for it is one series of striking incidents,

* Blue Book, p. 132.

† Dec. 15th, 1860, and Jan. 15th, 1861.

and such pictures of men and things among the Tae Pings, as carry conviction of their truthfulness. With the courtesy for which the colonial press is often remarkable, the *Overland Register* contrasts Mr. Holmes with Mr. John, under the appellations of 'men of education,' and 'illiterate and blundering bigots.' However unjust may be the latter epithets, the former is clearly well applied to the author of this journal.

He starts from Shanghai, and passes among multitudes of soldiers, being generally treated well, and always finding that insolence to the foreigner was shown only by new retainers of the Tae Pings. He finds cities wasted, and peasants repining, partly from the ravages of the Imperialists, and partly from those of their adversaries; but he also finds the country people bringing their goods to the camps for sale,—a clear proof that they are paid; and the authorities protesting that all injury to property or life, when committed by their men, is in the teeth of orders, and, if detected, is followed with punishment. The general feeling of the people towards the Tae Pings is taken by Mr. John to be rather unfavourable, arising from their losses, both of goods, and of friends destroyed in the conflict. As the strangers advanced, instead of Chinese difficulties they had these greetings:—'Foreign brethren, whither are you going? To Nankin. Good, good. All the way up, none but our brethren; no thieves, no imps. Don't be afraid. All peace and quietness.'

After a conversation with a high officer, in which his views of several of the absurd points in Tae Ping belief are brought to light, we are introduced to another dignitary, a Canton man,—'One of the kindest and most obliging men,' says Mr. John, 'I have ever met with in China.' Then he exclaims, 'How great a change comes over these Canton men as soon as they join the insurgents! Instead of insulting and despising foreigners, as they were wont to do in Canton, they are, almost invariably, the most respectful and accommodating.' This chief, and others, represent the policy of the insurgents to be, to keep the people from occupying the cities 'till the empire is settled;' as, if they were permitted to inhabit them, Imperialist soldiers, under guise of coolies and shopkeepers, would be introduced; and this is defended as being the established usage of former dynasties.

After crooked discomforts, and important conversations, Mr. John is 'cheered with the first view of the city of Nankin.' This capital of ancient China,—this Jerusalem of the Tae Pings, with its wall, thirty-five English miles in circumference, formed in parts of the solid rock,—now crowning a hill, now sweeping down into a valley, thick and grand beyond anything the traveller had ever seen,—formed a magnificent spectacle. Here, not long ago, one hundred thousand Imperialists had completely

hemmed in the Tae Pings, who were reduced to the last extremity. In the face of despair, their leader animated them by making them sing the following verse:—

‘Our heavenly Father, God, mightily reigneth;

Therefore the Celestial Dynasty shall stand for ever and for ever.

Our heavenly Elder Brother, Christ, mightily bears our burden;

Therefore the Celestial hall is full of glory, for ever full of glory.’

When ten or twelve days more would have sealed their fate, two of the Kings, Ying, ‘The four-eyed Tiger,’ and Chung, ‘The Monkey King,’ arrive, surround the besiegers by an embankment, and then the rain set in. The Imperialist general was forced to break through his assailants’ ranks, lost thousands in the struggle, reached Tan Yang, where the Monkey King overthrew him with a loss of twenty thousand men, and he took gold leaf and died. The victorious Chung seized the great city of Soochow, and, from that time, the Tae Ping fortunes have flourished.

Residing in Nankin was found Mr. Roberts, the American Missionary, who had first instructed the Tae Ping himself in the Christian doctrine. Unlike his compatriot, Mr. Holmes, he had accepted a crown and yellow robe, and was liberally supported by the Faithful King, and said that he was treated like a king. He had been admitted to one interview with the Tae Ping, who conversed with his old preceptor formally enough through the Shield King. Mr. Roberts, it appears, has special points ‘in his own experience which rival the visions of the Celestial King in point of the marvellous.’

The Shield King received the Missionaries with great kindness; but at first seemed very doubtful whether permission for them to reside among the Tae Pings could be freely granted; and made, on the whole, the impression that his zeal for religion was well subordinated to that for the Tae Ping dynasty. Nevertheless he got other Kings to join him in presenting the request of the Missionaries to the Tae Ping for full religious toleration, and obtained his full consent; the result of which was, an Edict written on satin, by the hand of his son, the Junior Lord, of which we give the translation in a note, and in which the right of both Protestant and Roman Catholic Missionaries to labour in their territories is established.*

* “EDICT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION,” BY THE CHIEF OF THE CHINESE INSURGENTS.

‘THE ORIGINAL IS WRITTEN BY THE YOUNG PRINCE, IN THE NAME OF HIS FATHER, ON SATIN, WITH THE VERMILION PENCIL, AND STAMPED WITH THE SEAL OF THE TAE-PING-WANG, THE CELESTIAL KING.

“HAVING received the decree of my Heavenly Father (God), of my Heavenly adopted Father (Christ), and of my Father (the Celestial King), I command all the King’s officers, both civil and military, and all the Brethren, to be acquainted with

The practical effect of this decree is interpreted by the Shield King to be, that they are bound to receive Missionaries whenever they are sent.

This second intercourse of Mr. John with the Tae Pings has added much to our light respecting their doctrine. Some of the conversations recorded are of the highest interest. Of Tae Ping we learn that he knows the Bible almost by heart; has most carefully read all the Shanghai Serial; is now devouring scientific works presented to him by Missionaries; writes all his edicts with his own hand; is author of several small books; and is now writing a History of China; and, in fact, is considered by his friends *divinely* intelligent. 'Still,' says Mr. John, 'when he touches on religious matters, he writes like a lunatic.' He has prepared a long document for Mr. Roberts, calling upon him to become his disciple, believe in his visions, and own him to be the brother of Christ. On these points it is plain that his heart is set on establishing for himself a kind of divinity; and yet his followers in conversation explain it away into the simplest metaphors. It is just possible that both views prevail; the former as the exoteric doctrine for the rabble, to raise their ideas of the new dynasty, the latter as the esoteric doctrine of the wise. The Shield King frankly avowed his fears that the difference of views between Tae Ping and the Missionaries might render their preaching dangerous to the faith of the *soldiers* in his divine mission; but seemed to wish their doctrine to spread among all the *people*. As to him it is clear, that the doctrine of the Missionaries is his religion, the pretensions of Tae Ping his political creed.

it. The true doctrine of my Father (God), and of my adopted Father (Christ), is the religion of Heaven. The religion of Christ (Protestant religion), and the religion of the Lord of Heaven (Roman Catholic religion), are included in it. The whole world, together with my father and myself, are one family. Those who lovingly and harmoniously observe the regulations of the heavenly religion are permitted to come and visit (us). Now, from the *memorial* presented to us by my uncles, Kan, Tsan, Chung, and others, I learn that the foreign teacher G. John and his friends, esteeming the Kingdom of Heaven, and reverencing and believing in my Father (God), and my adopted Father (Christ), to whom be thanks for the bestowment upon us of authority, power, and wonders, of which those who are far and near have reverentially heard—have come for the express purpose of seeing the light, of beholding God and Christ, and of requesting permission to spread abroad the true doctrine. Seeing, however, that the present time is a time of war, and that the soldiers are scattered abroad in every direction, I am truly afraid that the Missionaries might be injured by following the rabble soldiery, and that thus serious consequences might ensue. Still I truly perceive that these (Missionaries) are sincere and faithful men, and that they count it nothing to suffer with Christ; and because of this I esteem them very highly.

"Let the Kings inform all the officers and others, that they must all act lovingly and harmoniously towards these men, and by no means engender contention and strife. Let all know, that the Father (God), my adopted Father (Christ), my father and myself, are one family; and let these men (Missionaries) be treated exceeding well."

"Respect this."

On the cardinal point of their being willing or not to stand an appeal to the Bible, the evidence is on the whole satisfactory. Tae Ping himself appears to except a little to its infallibility; but it proves to be only as to spelling names, and as to various readings. The Faithful King, 'King Chang at Nanking, begged of me to inform the foreign brethren for him, that the following are his views:—"You have had the Gospel for upwards of eighteen hundred years; we only, as it were, eight days. Your knowledge of it ought to be correct and extensive; ours must necessarily be limited and imperfect. You must therefore bear with us for the present, and we will gradually improve. As for the Gospel, it is one, and must be propagated throughout the world. Let the foreign brethren all know that we are determined to uproot idolatry, and plant Christianity in its place."

Adding this to the testimony of Mr. Holmes's chaplain friend, His Ex. Mr. Pung, we may hope that though the Tae Pings will often fence off the force of plain Scripture by some of their nonsense, they will, nevertheless, generally accept the testimony of God's word from European Missionaries with respect.

The following passage in Mr. John's journal is one of the most remarkable records ever written: it refers to Nankin.

'I don't think there is such a thing as an idol or idol-worship in the city. Probably this can be said of no other city in China. There is no public tobacco and opium smoking, nor spirit-drinking in the city. All these are strictly forbidden; and though I know that both tobacco and opium are smoked, and spirits drunk by not a few, yet it is done so secretly, that not the faintest sign of either is to be observed in the streets. Everywhere they are busy in rebuilding the place. They employ every carpenter and mason they can find, for this purpose. Shops of every description, on a small scale, are open; and, in some parts, a good deal of business is going on. I was particularly struck with the fine and healthy appearance of the women and children. Most of the women have large feet, and all have them unbound. This will, to some extent, account for the superiority of their general appearance to all other Chinese women I have seen. In the morning, the women and children take their morning walks or rides, as the case may be.'

The facts clearly proved are:—1. That the Tae Pings are friendly to foreigners, desirous of intercourse, willing to be instructed, and not indisposed to adopt their improved institutions, social, political, and religious. 2. That they know the Bible, hold it to be God's word, print and spread it; that they abolish idols, and proclaim one God and His Christ, though, like Mohammed, they add their Tae Ping and polygamy, but, unlike him, confess the equality, if not the superior light, of Protestant Christians.

These facts being proved, take all that is advanced against them; and it leaves us astonished that, with so little opportunity of learning, they know so much of the truth, and, with such elements of delusion, are not more fatally led astray. There is much that is deplorable and revolting, but nothing that is hopeless. What then ought to be our policy toward them? We are glad that a man of Colonel Sykes's research has brought the question before Parliament. The bulk of this article was written before he did so, and singularly accords with his analysis of facts. Lord John Russell did not answer him; and, in fact, abandoned the defence of Mr. Bruce, when he alleged the private conversations of Mr. Edkins, the missionary with the Tae Ping, as a warning that they would be attacked by us if they came to Shanghai. That allegation admits that we slaughtered men whom we had never notified of our hostility, and who avowed and showed themselves our friends. As for the House, it showed its ignorance by laughing at Colonel Sykes's facts, which were strange enough to be amazed at, but too true to be laughed at. Still Lord John Russell deserves the credit of taking the right course in his policy, if not in his speech. He adopts neutrality and non-intervention. This is our old policy enunciated by Sir George Bonham, and the one that we ought strictly to follow. The French have reasons for fearing Tae Ping ascendancy; for an image is to them an image, whether baptized or unbaptized, and an image-worshipper is an image-worshipper. But we have no such ground of fear; and let not our policy of neutrality be thwarted by the Mandarin leanings of Mr. Wade and Mr. Lay, and the Catholic zeal and influence of M. Bourboulon; but let it be frankly and thoroughly carried out in all places and all conjunctures. This is what must be insisted upon, and nothing more is necessary than that Government should see to it that local prejudices do not frustrate instructions from home.

As to the Churches, their calling is clear; they ought to send as many discreet men as can be found into the Tae Ping territory, and keep them independent of subsidies from the chiefs. These ought wisely, meekly, but with all firmness, to hold every Tae Ping to the one infallible standard of truth; and if so much heathen error has been already supplanted, who will despair of teaching them the whole system of Christianity? A hundred good Missionaries would not be too many, would, indeed, be far too few; yet the results already gained show that the immortal power of Christian truth is still displayed, not in proportion to the numbers and qualifications of agents, but by a mysterious force that penetrates where least expected, and appears in results that can hardly be believed.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

Aurelii Prudentii Clementis quæ exstant Carmina. Ad Vaticæ aliorumque Codicum et optimarum Editionum Fidem recensuit, Lectionum Varietate illustravit, Notis explicavit Albertus Dressel. Lipsiæ: Mendelssohn. Londini: Nutt. 1861.

THIS will be henceforward the standard edition of the old Christian poet. It has the great advantage over its predecessors of having been prepared in Rome, with all the treasures of the Vatican at command, and amid the scenes which give a local interest to many of the hymns. No writer is more dependent upon judicious annotation than Prudentius; but his annotator must possess no common qualifications. Dr. Dressel seems to be wanting in nothing that could fit him for the task; and he has accomplished it with great fidelity and discrimination. He is not an extravagant eulogist of his author, whose strangely-blended excellencies and defects he sums up and appreciates with considerable critical skill. The occasional topographical notes are of much value, as throwing light upon many an obscure passage. The edition, as a whole, is a worthy monument of the labour of many years; and it is not the least among its advantages that it has issued, not from the Vatican, but from the German press.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens was born in Spain, A.D. 348. Two cities, *Cæsaraugusta* (the modern Saragossa) and *Calagurris*, contend for the honour of having given him birth,—a contention that can never now be decided. Nothing is known of his personal history beyond what may be gathered from notices given in his own words. But from them we learn that he lived a very active life; the events of which were remarkably diversified. He had the rudiments of a liberal education; frequented, as a young man, the schools of the rhetoricians; practised as an advocate; probably held at some time or other a military command; and certainly attained to the patrician dignity, accompanied by high distinction of various kinds. In his fifty-seventh year he renounced the world, either disgusted by its vanities, or attracted by the joys of devotion, and dedicated himself to religious exercises, and the composition of Christian hymns. The date of his death is not certainly known.

His extant works are as follows: 1. *Liber Cathemerinon*, a collection of twelve hymns for the several hours of the day, one or two of them being adapted to special occasions. The Hymn for the Dead is

particularly beautiful, and very well known in various translations. 2. *Liber Peristephanon*, a series of fourteen hymns and songs in honour of as many saints who attained the crown of martyrdom: there is nothing in Christian antiquity more grand and precious of the kind. 3. *Apotheosis*, a poem of more than one thousand hexameter lines on the Divinity of Christ, in opposition to all kinds of heretics,—interspersed with many theological disquisitions. Sabellians, Jews, Ebionites, and Manichæans are all vigorously handled, the key-note being, '*Est Deus, est et homo; fit mortuus, et Deus idem est.*' 4. *Hamartigenia* is occupied with the origin of sin and evil, with an attack upon the Marcionites: the key-note is, '*Gignimus omne malum proprio de corpore nostrum.*' 5. *Psychomachia*, a didactic heroic poem of nearly a thousand hexameters, describing the wars and triumphs of virtue in the Christian soul. The virtues and vices are very elaborately marshalled; but, as Dr. Dressel says, the book '*mediocritatem vix superat.*' 6. *Contra Symmachum Libri duo* are perhaps the most important of his writings. The first book is a vehement attack upon Heathenism generally, showing the vanity of idols, and the past triumphs of Christianity in the subversion of Gentile mythology. The second book refutes the arguments of the celebrated petition of Symmachus, the last defender of Paganism in the Roman Senate, who prayed Valentinian to restore the altar and statue of Victory, cast down by Gratian. The reader of Gibbon is familiar with the extracts which he makes from this poem, which, notwithstanding his contempt for the genius of the author, he highly praises. 7. *Diptychon* or *Dittochaon* consists of a series of scriptural narratives taken from the Two Testaments. There are forty-eight hexameter tetrastichs; twenty-four being dedicated to the Old Testament, and twenty-four to the New. Four lines terminate each topic, and the whole series runs through most of the critical events of the scriptural narrative. It is a poor poem; and if the keen controversy about its authenticity were settled in the negative, the fame of Prudentius would lose nothing. But the tide of opinion seems to run at present in its favour. Dr. Dressel accepts it, but pronounces it 'vile.'

The merits of Prudentius as a Christian poet have been the subject of much dispute. At one extreme stands Bentley, who, caustic as he was generally in his literary opinions and censures, calls him 'the Horace and the Virgil of Christians,' though how far satire mingled with this extravagant commendation it is hard to say. At the other extreme is Gibbon, with his sneering allusion to the 'poetry, if it may deserve the name, of Prudentius.' During the Middle Ages he was in high repute; and many of his best hymns were incorporated in the Breviary of the Latin Church, and interwoven with the devotions of the whole of Europe. Modern Romanism has held him in very high honour. The panegyrics of Tillemont, and some of their more recent writers, are of the most extravagant kind. He has also laid hold of the Protestant heart. With many of the English divines of the last century he was an especial favourite; and there are not

wanting admirers of his hymns in the present day. Now and then an exquisite rough line or two, giving strength and beauty to the context as a quotation, shows that the father of Christian poetry is not forgotten.

Apart wholly from his poetical merits, Prudentius is an important witness in the history of the Christian Church. He lived in that transition age when Heathenism was dying out, amid the sarcasm and contempt of all Christian writers. Among all the satirists of effete Paganism whose writings are extant, none was more vigorous, more earnest, and more sincere, than Prudentius. His whole soul was evidently on the Christian side. His integrity gave a rough touch of homely truthfulness to all his pictures; and his high Christian principle prevented them from being caricatures. How important the works of Prudentius are to the ecclesiastical historian, Gibbon shows by his diligent references. Moreover, the old poet is an important witness to the Christian truth which was taught in his age; and his silence upon many points of Romanist belief, especially Rome's last addition to the faith, is most eloquent.—In conclusion, we cannot lay down this volume without expressing our thankfulness that a cheap and scholarly edition of Prudentius is likely to enlarge the circle of his readers and admirers in the present day, and in this land.

Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk; containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time. Second Edition. William Blackwood and Sons. 1860.

It is reported that this book has, for many years, been withheld from publication, by the advice and interference of the late Principal Lee. If this be so, we pay due tribute to the discretion of an amiable and excellent man, who saw that neither the interests of religion in general, nor those of the Scottish Establishment in particular, would be served by this exposure of the character and habits of an ordained Minister of that orthodox Church, and one of the chiefs, some eighty years ago, of the dominant party in it.

Rightly, indeed, was the old man called 'Jupiter' Carlyle; for, if that dissipated divinity, seeing how long things had gone badly with him, and how sadly Scotland, in the latter half of the last century, wanted a religion, had, like some other Pretenders, tried his luck, and, like the luckiest of them, had for six weeks kept state and table at Holyrood, we verily believe that Carlyle and his associates would have joined him with all the pleasure in the world, and, in the enjoyment or prospect of what they could get, would have been as consistent a set of Pagans as ever lived; though by no means so respectable as some of them.

At all events, the Minister of Inveresk had no kind of sympathy with Christianity. We doubt whether the Founder of that religion is mentioned twice, or even once with any kind of respect, in this record of a ministerial career, protracted during nearly sixty years. As to Christian doctrines, the autobiographer is equally silent, except

when he goes out of his way to sneer at them. Indeed, the best proof he can give us that a certain Sir James Dalrymple was 'a sincere and thoroughly liberal-minded Christian,' is Dalrymple's belief in the final safety of Collins, the Deist:—'He said he was one of the best men he had ever known, and practised every Christian virtue, without believing in the Gospel; and added, that though he had swum ashore on a plank,—for he was sure he must be in heaven,—yet it was not for other people to throw themselves into the sea at a venture.' There is a similar absence of any pretence of Christian motives. Read, for instance, the reasons which determined the choice of the ministry as a profession. As to Christian morality, we give two specimens, omitting, for want of space, the story told on pp. 347–354, of the Sunday spent at Windsor, and how very needlessly careful Carlyle and Robertson were to assure the wretched little Arian preacher of that town that they were not Methodists. Note specially those passages in the second extract which we place in italics.

'We remained six days in Bute, and passed our time very agreeably. Alexander McMillan was one of the best of landlords for a large company; for he was loud and joyful, and made the wine flow like Bacchus himself. We passed the mornings (which were not so long as now, for they extended only to two o'clock, when dinner was on the table) in riding about the Island. *Rothsay, where stand the ruins of the old castle which gives a ducal title to the Prince of Wales, as it did anciently to the Prince of Scotland, is a finely-situated port, and has thriven amazingly since that period.* We had to take an early dinner one day, and ride down there to be made free of the burgh, which cost us a hard drink of new claret. We went to Kingarth Church on Sunday, where I lectured, and Robertson preached. Our conversation at table was liberal and lively. The wine was excellent, and flowed freely. There was the best Cyprus I ever saw, which had lain there ever since Lord Bute had left the Island in 1745. The claret was of the same age, and excellent. After we had been four days there, Robertson took me into a window before dinner, and, with some solemnity, proposed to make a motion to shorten the drinking, if I would second him: "Because," added he, "although you and I may go through it, I am averse to it on James Stuart's account." (Stuart was a young man, a pupil of Robertson.) I answered, that I would willingly second whatever measure of that kind he should propose; but added that I was afraid it would not do, as our toast-master was very despotic, and, besides, might throw ridicule upon us, as we were to leave the Island the day after the next, and that we had not proposed any abridgment to the repast till the old claret was all done, the last of which we had drunk yesterday. "Well, well," replied the Doctor, "be it so then, and let us end as we began."

And, again: 'In the Assembly, this year, there was the last grand effort of our opponents to carry through their Schism Overture, as it was called, as it proposed to make an inquiry into the causes and growth of Schism. On the day before it came before the Assembly, we had dined at Nicholson's. Before we parted, Jardine told me that

he had examined the list of the Assembly with care, and that we should carry the question; that it would be nearly on a par till we came as far on the roll as Lochmaben,* but that, after that, we should have it hollow. I have mentioned this on account of what happened next day, which was Friday the 29th. There was a very long debate; so that the vote was not called till past seven o'clock. Jardine, who had for some time complained of breathlessness, had seated himself on a high bench, near the east door of the Assembly House, there being at that time no galleries erected. He had, not half an hour before, had a communication with some ladies near him, in the church gallery, who had sent him a bottle of wine, of which he took one glass. The calling of the roll began, and when it had passed the presbytery of Lochmaben, he gave a significant look with his eye to me who was sitting below the throne, as much as to say, "Now the day's our own." I had turned to the left to whisper to John Home, who was next me, the sign I had got; before I could look round again, Jardine had tumbled from his seat; and, being a man of six feet two inches, and of large bones, had borne down all those on the two benches before him, and fallen to the ground. He was immediately carried out to the passage, and the roll-calling stopped. Various reports came from the door; but, anxious to know the truth, I stepped behind the Moderator's chair, and over the green table, and with difficulty made the door through a very crowded house. When I came there, I found him lying stretched on the pavement of the passage, with many people about him; among the rest, his friend and mine, James Russell, the surgeon. With some difficulty, I got near him, and whispered, "Was it not a faint?" "*No, no,*" replied he, "*it is all over.*" I returned to the House, and, resuming my place, gave out that there were hopes of his recovery. This composed the House, and the calling of the roll went on, when it was carried to reject the overture by a great majority. This was a deadly blow to the enemies of presentations; for they had mustered all their strength, and had been strenuous in debate.'

It is on the evidence of a man who gives this account of himself that, so soon as the book appeared, we were called upon to discredit Doddridge's account of the conversion of Colonel Gardiner. Fortunately, had the witness been ever so trustworthy, there was demonstration that, in this instance at least, he was mistaken. But Carlyle's testimony is cited on other and equally important issues. His ill-natured assertions and insinuations against the leaders of the evangelical party in Scotland are, indeed, easily refuted by the biographies of such men as Moncrieff and Erskine. But what we have to do with now is, that these slanders are transmitted to posterity, by a writer who boasts that, fresh from the sight of the corpse of his brother-minister and comploter in mischief, called, in an instant, to his last account, the narrator quietly resumed his place in a Church court, at a solemn crisis of its proceedings, and told a falsehood to gain an end.

* In the Scotch Assembly the votes are taken by calling over the names in the order of their Presbyteries, each member recording his vote when his name is called.

Of Sapphira herself we are carefully informed that, '*not knowing what was done,*' she 'came in,' and backed her dead husband's lie.

One critic has laid down the book with an attempt at a very curious inference. Carlyle and his friends, it seems,—the latter without doubt comprising some of the ablest and worst men of his time and country,—illustrate the proposition that no instance can be furnished of a Scotchman eminent in literature or science, who has not deserted the religion of his fathers. The blow is aimed at the religion; in our view it falls upon the eminent men; and the rather so, because, when they deserted their hereditary faith, they never took any trouble to find another. What business, indeed, had such a carnal crew with any faith at all? 'They did eat; they drank; they married wives;' not without maligning the women who had more sense than to marry them; (see p. 402;) 'they bought; they sold; they planted; they builded;' they toadied, wheedled, and cringed; they elbowed, pushed, and strove; thankless and self-sufficient when successful, (Blair, for instance, when his bits of Essays passed for Sermons,) and positively venomous when they failed. But, admits the reviewer, Chalmers and Hugh Miller were exceptions to this rule,—exceptions, however, which prove it: for Chalmers, too, in his earlier days, forgot the principles in which he had been nurtured; and as for Miller, he met with a mysterious end.—It strikes us that the logic and the taste of this explanation are equally disgraceful.

If we had no souls to be saved, and no care for public morals, we, too, could enjoy the gossip of a book, which at least deserves the praise of possessing a certain kind of not unaccountable interest. It is a contribution to general and ecclesiastical history, which the student of both may read with advantage. But such a book as this almost makes it a question how far it is wise to put the lives of either ancient or modern Jupiters into the hands of general readers, and especially of the young.

The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History. An Inaugural Lecture, delivered before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. C. Kingsley, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, &c. Macmillans. 1860.

PROFESSOR KINGSLEY! Such is now the style and title. Mr. Kingsley's University has, as we think, made a good choice. It is true that the author of *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* is of too intense a nature, not to throw a strong reflection from the hue of his own personal feeling upon any subject which greatly interests him; it is true that the admiring friend of Froude and the writer of *Westward Ho* must needs be a one-sided reader and expounder of history. But yet it is something, it is much, to have a man as Professor of History, capable of entering, with whatever bias, really and livingly into the scenes and circumstances and life-play—the prejudices, the passions, the motives, the deeds—of past ages. This Mr. Kingsley can do beyond most men living. He makes himself one of the generation of

which he writes. He possesses the true dramatic power, the sympathetic intelligence and insight, without which History is but a dead chronicle, a wearisome catalogue. The author of *Hypatia* can understand an era of the dim and dream-like past, separated yet more by intervening revolutions of thought, religion, and social habits, than by the gulf of many centuries, from the conditions of our modern life; and such a man may render rare service as Professor of History.

Mr. Kingsley describes, in the words we are about to quote, his own method of studying history; and these words will bear out what we have said in the preceding paragraph.

'If any of you should ask me how to study history, I should answer, Take by all means biographies; wheresoever possible, autobiographies; and study them. Fill your minds with live human figures; men of like passions with yourselves; see how each lived and worked in the time and place in which God put him. Believe me, that when you have thus made a friend of the dead, and brought him to life again, and let him teach you to see with his eyes, and feel with his heart, you will begin to understand more of his generation and his circumstances, than all the mere history-books of the period would teach you.....And not only to understand, but to remember, names, dates, genealogies, geographical details, costumes, fashions, manners, crabbed scraps of old law, which you used perhaps to read up and forget again, because they were not rooted, but stuck into your brain, as pins are into a pincushion, to fall out at the first shake—all these you will remember, because they will arrange and organize themselves around the central human figure.....Who, for instance, has not found that he can learn more French history from French memoirs, than even from all the truly learned and admirable histories of France which have been written of late years?.....And I am free to confess that I have learnt what little I know of the Middle Ages, what they were like, how they came to be what they were, and how they issued in the Reformation, not so much from the study of the books about them, (many and wise though they are,) as from the thumbing over, for years, the semi-mythical lives of Surius and the Bollandists.'

We cannot, indeed, contemplate without regret Mr. Kingsley's retirement henceforth from the walk of literature which up to this time he has principally cultivated. We have not spared to expose what we have judged to be his shortcomings and his errors as a writer of prose fiction; but we had hoped for fruits of his genius in this department, far exceeding in value anything that he has yet produced,—the results of ripe meditation and complete research, the expressions of calm and mature conviction. We had hoped for pictures of character and thought, of human need and capacity, of Divine Justice and Love, of what is but ought not to be, of what might be and ought to be, of what, for better or for worse, is coming to be, not less intense in their life and reality than those Mr. Kingsley has already painted, but broader, more completely thought out, truer in tone and colouring, and showing a fuller and firmer mastery not

only of the subject but of the artist's own bias, and haste, and impatience. It would seem that we must give up all such expectations. Mr. Kingsley announces that 'the whole of such small powers as he possesses will be devoted to the Professorate; and that it will be henceforth the main object of his life to teach Modern History after a method which shall give satisfaction to the Rulers of this University.' Nevertheless, even although the Professor may from this time forth devote himself exclusively to his allotted province, may we not hope that his peculiar gifts as a writer of fiction may yet be brought more or less fully into play in illustration of the periods and subjects to which his attention will be directed? The readers of Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* will not have forgotten the delicious imaginary chronicle of the Middle Ages with which the author enriches his pages and most happily illustrates his theme. Let us hope that Mr. Kingsley may present us with some such chronicles. No man could more fully and vividly than he revive the past by such imaginary records of Middle Age daily life; they would be excellent companions and supplements to actual histories; they need in no instance transgress the strict line of historic truth and fact. Eras, too, might by means of special histories of critical episodes be resuscitated by the genius of the author of *Hypatia*. Much as we value the particular kind of product called a Lecture, when it proceeds from a competent hand, and while we admit that Mr. Kingsley's Lectures on *Alexandria and her Schools* give promise on his behalf, notwithstanding their serious deficiencies and drawbacks, of more than common powers as a Lecturer—we trust that the Professor will not henceforth consider himself restricted to the mere functions of a public reader. If he publishes no more sermons, the loss, on the whole, will not be lamentable; we rejoice to know that history rather than theology is henceforth to be his study; but we trust the peculiar gifts which have distinguished him as a writer of fiction will not cease to find employment, now that the clergyman-novelist is advanced to the dignity of Professor.

We are happy to observe that in this Inaugural Lecture Mr. Kingsley demurs expressly to the main principle which has given form and character to Dr. Temple's *Essay on the Education of the World*; and that he separates himself very widely from the school of Mr. Buckle. He utters in the opening of the Lecture a caveat against the modern tendency 'to look at human beings rather as things than as persons, and at abstractions (under the name of laws) rather as persons than as things.' In direct antagonism to Mr. Buckle, he insists that 'not upon mind, but upon morals, is human welfare founded;' and adds that, 'so far from morals depending upon thought, thought depends on morals;' that 'in proportion as a nation is righteous, will thought grow rapidly, securely, triumphantly, will its discoveries be cheerfully accepted, and faithfully obeyed, to the welfare of the whole commonweal; but where a nation is corrupt, there thought will wither, and science will be either crushed by frivolity and sensuality, or abused to the ends of tyranny,

ambition, profligacy, till she herself perishes, amid the general ruin of all good things.' 'Science,' he says, in noble words, 'indeed is great; but she is not the greatest. *She is an instrument, and not a power*; beneficent or deadly, according as she is wielded by the hand of virtue or of vice. But her lawful mistress, the only one under whom she can truly grow and prosper and prove her Divine descent, is Virtue, the likeness of Almighty God.'

Traces of Mr. Kingsley's special mysticism, and passages coloured, occasionally half-inflated, by his peculiar enthusiasm or extravagance, are not wanting in this Lecture. But we have no need to dwell upon these, nor are they so prominent or frequent as materially to subtract from the high general estimate which we have formed of its merits, or from the expectations which we have by its perusal been led to cherish of the services to the true philosophy of human history and progress which Professor Kingsley is likely to render.

Neology not True, and Truth not New: Three short Treatises concerning the Rev. F. D. Maurice's Vere Street Sermons, the Rev. Professor Jowett's Doctrine on 'The Righteousness of God,' the Rev. J. L. Davies' Reply to 'Atonement by Propitiation,' with that Treatise also, and a Summary of the Atonement Controversy. By the Rev. C. Hebert, M.A., Marylebone. London: Nisbets.

MR. DAVIES is a rising, perhaps *the* rising, chief of the Coleridgean School of Anglican divines. Mr. Kingsley of late has rather retired from the field of theological controversy, whether in the way of championship or attack, and, now that he is inaugurated as Professor at Cambridge, will probably be but little heard of in this direction. Nor did he at any time commit himself to formal argument or defence. But Mr. Davies, whilst as strictly accordant with Mr. Maurice as Mr. Kingsley has ever been, is at the same time a systematic expositor and defender of the views held by him and his elder friend, whom he frankly and heartily adheres to as his master in theology. Being a London incumbent, placed in a prominent parochial position, and a man of active mind and habits, Mr. Davies has naturally been brought into the front of his party. While no less dexterous and scarcely less plausible than Mr. Maurice in his earlier and abler writings, he is a much clearer writer, and, as it would seem, somewhat less deeply Neo-Platonized in spirit. Hence it is not improbable that he may, rather than Mr. Maurice, come ere long to be recognised as, for the public at large, the exponent and spokesman of his school. Some years ago his first publication, at least of any consideration, (except his translation of some of Plato's dialogues,) was incidentally noticed in this journal, and a judgment as to his theological status was given, which his subsequent course has amply confirmed. Mr. Hebert comes forward, in the little volume of which we have given the title, principally as the critic of Mr. Davies, who in two volumes of sermons, entitled respectively *The Work of Christ* and *Life in*

Christ, has endeavoured to expound the leading passages of Scripture which speak of atonement, justification, regeneration, and sanctification, in a Maurician sense, in a sense which simulates, yet evades, the truth. Mr. Hebert found himself stationed side by side with Mr. Davies, labouring in the same neighbourhood, though in a different district, and continually brought into contact, and, as an earnest evangelical minister, into conflict, with Mr. Davies's teaching and influence. This led him in the first instance to publish a small book entitled, *Atonement by Propitiation*, in reply to two sermons which had been published by Mr. Davies. In the preface to his volume entitled *The Work of Christ*, Mr. Davies makes answer to Mr. Hebert. The present volume rejoins upon Mr. Davies, and also includes Mr. Hebert's original publication. It deals, moreover, as expressed in the title, with Mr. Maurice's last issue of sermons, and with one part of Mr. Jowett's two volumes.

Mr. Maurice's first publication was a pamphlet entitled *Subscription No Bondage*; his last, the *Vere Street Sermons*, is on the same subject, and professes to be an exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. He finds in the Articles, of course, his own peculiar doctrines, while he does *not* find the doctrines of evangelical orthodoxy! Is not this enough to say? This infatuated, however sincere or accomplished, man has at length well-nigh worn out the patience of the public by his evasions, which it would be too high a compliment to call subtleties, by his perversions and obscurities. This last publication has called forth reclaimers from those who have been most anxious to speak him softly. Mr. Hebert devotes a portion of this volume to the examination of these Sermons.

Mr. Hebert's is a calm, grave, and loving argument, not unmingled here and there with the solemn rebukes of a faithful and simple-minded, though by no means simple, ministerial brother. It is the most satisfactory publication on the orthodox side which we have as yet seen from the pen of an English clergyman. The writer is an excellent New-Testament-Greek scholar, a clear-headed reasoner, and as conscientiously careful to waste no words as he is to write in truth and love. We do not, however, think his brief examination of Mr. Jowett's views on 'The Righteousness of God' equal in clearness or force to the other parts of the volume; indeed, on one material point he appears to us to have misapprehended Mr. Jowett's meaning. Altogether we give this compact little work our hearty recommendation.

Curiosities of Civilization. By Andrew Wynter, M.D. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1860.

THIS is a reprint of essays chiefly from the *Quarterly Review*, which are well worth publication in a separate form. The topics are singularly varied; and if some of them give us broad views over the highways of life, others give us strange peeps down some of its crooked alleys and byeways. A semi-historical paper on Advertisements, from the *Mercurius Politicus* of 1652, down to the mysterious

second column of yesterday's *Times*, contains much curious information. There is a lucid description of the electric telegraph; an interesting paper on the Zoological Gardens; another on Rats; sundry revelations respecting the adulteration of Food, which dyspeptic patients had better omit; and statistics respecting the Commissariat of London, which would lead one to consider the metropolis as the stomach rather than the heart of the empire. There are chapters on madmen, soldiers, and thieves, fires and shipwrecks, and sundry other features of this refined civilization of ours which it is good for us to know, and which will certainly furnish material for reflection. Dr. Wynter's style is firm, compact, and substantial. There is no loitering about his subject, no forced humour in the treatment of it, no far-fetched illustrations, or carefully poised and polished sentences. There is nothing superfluous; what he has to say, he says, and goes on to something else. Every page is full of information, well arranged and fitly conveyed; and the reader, especially if his time be valuable, is thankful for a style so unpretending, and so compressed.

Éléments de la Grammaire Assyrienne. Par M. Jules Oppert.
Paris: Imprimerie Impériale. 1860.

A FRENCHMAN in the nineteenth Christian century writing a Grammar—the first ever written—of the language which Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar used to talk in those grand reception-rooms of theirs on the Tigris and Euphrates, when Paris was the hunting-ground of the wolf and the wild boar! We hardly know which is the greater wonder: that the old Assyrian tongue should have been so long and so utterly lost to the world, or that the last few years should have opened to us our present prospect of recovering it. M. Oppert is one of a small group of living scholars, whose sagacity, learning, and patience have done very much towards conferring on mankind this great boon. The highest name among them belongs to England; but M. Oppert is not the lowest. He is quick-sighted and brilliant, like his countrymen; perhaps we ought to add, like them, he is in some danger of being over-sanguine and precipitate. He moves too fast, we know, for Sir Henry Rawlinson; and, in reading him, we cannot but doubt sometimes, whether the magic of genius does not fill the place which ought to be occupied by the cautious inductions of a philosophical scholarship. Still his results agree so well in the main with those of his fellow-labourers, that we need not hesitate to accept the substance of them; and if the publication of his Grammar, first in the *Journal Asiatique*, and now in a separate form, be an act of boldness, it is at any rate one from which the cause of literature and of truth will not fail to reap advantage. How Gesenius would have revelled in this Ninevite and Babylonian philology! Here is one of his well-loved Semites, whom he took to be a barbarian. Challenge the new-comer, and see if it is not so. You cannot mistake the ring and rhythm of his answering. It is not Hebrew; it is not Aramæan; it is not Arabic; but it is like them.

all. Not a son of Shem but will say at once, This is a father, or an uncle, or a cousin, or a relative of some degree. And if you treat the stranger's talk as matter of science, and put it into the crucible of Grimm, or Bopp, or Rénan, your persuasion becomes a certainty. The Assyrian alphabet has not so much of the Aramæan about it as of the Hebrew and Arabic. Like the Aramæan, however, the language, according to M. Oppert, rejects the definite article of the sister tongues, and uses an emphatic affix in its place. The case-endings of the Arabic are found here in their primitive type. That previously unsolved problem of the Hebrew, the origin of the term for 'eleven,' is a problem no longer, now we know that its first element is the Assyrian for 'one.' How poverty-stricken the Semitic verb is in respect of tenses is familiar to all scholars. The Assyrian is the poorest of its stock; for it is almost wholly if not altogether wanting in a separate formation for the past. Yet it is true to its family traditions in the multitude of its conjugations: *kals* and *iph-teals* and *shophels* and *itaphals* meet us at every turn. In its details, as well as in its great features, the language is Semitic; and it is impossible to say, how much light it is destined to shed upon the structure of the Hebrew and its cognates. M. Oppert's Grammar is a charming little book, apart from its new and priceless philology. It is a model of scientific arrangement, of judicious handling of its several topics, and of manly, graceful, and perspicuous style. There are no redundancies either of matter or expression. It does not contain a sentence, as to the meaning of which the reader need pause a moment. Everything is as fresh and sharply-defined and harmonious as the view of Paris on an August day from the top of the Arc de Triomphe. It is a good example of the combined precision, gaiety, and force, for which the French is unrivalled among modern tongues. All honour to M. Oppert and his compeers for their laborious and successful explorations in the labyrinth of the arrow-headed writings!

The Life of Count Zinzendorf. (Le Comte de Zinzendorf.) By Felix Bovet. Two Volumes. Paris: Grossart. 1860.

THE name of Count Zinzendorf, almost as familiar to the reading religious public of England as it is to that of Germany, is much less known in France; so that this memoir will fill up a void in the biographical literature of our French Protestant brethren. We think, however, that it is worthy of more extensive circulation, and that it will be read with interest and profit even by those who are already acquainted with the character and history of this celebrated nursing-father of the Moravian Church. Professor Bovet has condensed into two very moderate volumes the results of much study and research; and he has known how to unite the warmest admiration for his hero with a sobriety, a brevity, and a judicious choice of materials, which put to shame the wordy and indigestible works to which our English writers of biographies have too generally accustomed us. His chief reason for undertaking the task, was the persuasion that the attitude assumed by Zinzendorf towards pre-existing religious communities—

an attitude little understood by his contemporaries—is one with which Christians of the present day are especially called to sympathize. This feeling can be best expressed in his own words:—

‘In addition to all these historical associations, there is in Zinzendorf a cause of interest at once more individual and more general. His upright and lofty character attaches and wins the heart; his mind captivates us by its powerful originality; his simple faith, his zeal, his love for the Lord, the richness of his experience, make of his life and writings an abundant source of edification and instruction. Finally, and it is essentially this reason which has encouraged me to write this memoir,—I have learned to love in him a man, who, more than any one before him, laboured not in view of a particular Church, but of the Church universal.

‘Thus, far from fading away in the horizons of the past, the moral physiognomy of Zinzendorf is destined, if I mistake not, to be ever better understood. Convinced that it is *the life that is the light of men*, he exerted himself to draw religion forth from the domain of abstraction. He undertook to establish a spiritual union among all Christians, not by engaging them to make concessions and compromises, but by awakening within them a more lively faith and more ardent love toward the Saviour. He claimed for all full liberty of conscience. He showed that, without excluding any ecclesiastical institution, faith and brotherly love are tied down to none of them, and stand above them all;—a largeness of mind the more remarkable in a man who was not in the least sceptical, and who possessed in a high degree the genius of organization, as is proved by his whole work among the Brethren. He showed by his example, as well as by his teaching, that religion is not a doctrine merely but a life, and that the Christian is not a man who believes in Christianity merely, but one who believes in Jesus Christ.

‘Doubtless the Moravian refugees were auxiliaries prepared by Providence to help him in his work. But if it is to them that the new *Unitas Fratrum* owes its origin, its construction, and even its principal institutions, it is to Zinzendorf that it is indebted for the character of universality that is its glory, and has distinguished it above all other religious communities.

We are afraid that the idea of a community which should be at the service of all the Churches, without belonging, in an exclusive sense, to any, is not practicable. In any case the catholicity of the Moravian Brethren upon the Continent is confined to their relation toward established Churches; for wherever dissent is concerned, they exhibit strong prejudices. Doubtless the community was placed between the alternatives of perishing or of succumbing to Lutheran bigotry; and we dare not judge its submission to the yoke under such circumstances with excessive severity: but it is not the less true, that it purchased existence at the cost of its vigour as a Church; witness the degree of influence it has exerted in the world compared with the giant walk of its younger and originally like-minded sister, Methodism.

There is much, however, to be learned from tendencies which we

cannot wholly appropriate. If Zinzendorf's theories have not been carried out, we do not the less admire the large and generous feelings which prompted them, and which are eloquently expressed and defended by his biographer, evidently one of a spirit akin to his own. No one can meditate upon such a life of heroic, persevering, and joyous sacrifice of self, without becoming wiser and better; and we cordially recommend the work to every admirer of thoughtful, attractive, and ennobling literature.

Étude sur une Ancienne Version Syriaque des Évangiles. Paris : Jacques Lecoffre et Cie. 1859.

THIS is a right-toned, scholarly, and clever pamphlet on Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels, a work which we reviewed in our Number for April of last year. The writer deals with a subject which he understands and loves; and his pen is the graceful, quick-witted minister of an acute, well-disciplined, and cultivated mind. In opposition to Ewald and some others of the continental critics, he endorses, for the most part, the views which Dr. Cureton himself takes of the origin, relations, and general character of his Syriac texts. On one or two points, we think, he goes too far in his author's company. In common with Dr. Cureton, for example, he explains certain readings of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew as due to a translator's misapprehension of the Aramaic original. And, like the learned Canon, he over-estimates, as we believe, the share which written documents had in determining the verbal correspondences of the Synoptists. On the whole, however, we heartily subscribe both to his principles and his conclusions. In the first part of his tractate, the writer exhibits very clearly and forcibly the proofs of the essential oneness of the Cureton and Peshito Syriac Gospels, and expounds the manner in which the latter and younger of the two copies appears to have come into the form in which we have it. The second part is devoted to an inquiry into the sources of the newly published Aramaean text, particularly that of St. Matthew, and to a discussion on the date which should be assigned to it, and the country in which it was probably written. The aim of the third and concluding part of the pamphlet is to point out the bearings of Dr. Cureton's discovery on Christian theology and on the criticism of the New Testament text. In all this we have not merely the echo of Dr. Cureton's opinions, but that independent, vigorous, and discriminating treatment of the questions in hand, which tells of mental power, of extensive, well-digested reading, and of authorship that is no longer in its childhood. If we may distinguish where every thing is excellent, we would call attention especially to the parallel which is drawn between the early history of the Latin and Syriac Versions of Scripture; to the testimony which several early writers of the Eastern Church are made to give as to the form of the sacred text at the times at which they lived; and, as here stated, to the philological peculiarities of Dr. Cureton's Gospels, with the clue which these afford for

determining their birthplace, and the period at which they were first published. Every reader of Dr. Cureton's deeply-interesting book should study what the anonymous French critic has written upon it.

The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire. By the Rev. John Kennedy, Dingwall. Edinburgh: John Maclaren. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1861.

Memoir of the Life and brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman, Missionary to China. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, Author of 'The Memoir of the Rev. R. M. M'Cheyne,' &c. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1861.

BOOKS to be classed together,—as illustrating the history and present state of Evangelical Presbyterianism in Scotland, and to be read, therefore, by way of agreeable change, after laying down the Life of Alexander Carlyle. Mr. Kennedy, indeed, is not a very amiable author; and, in his hereditary partiality for a very excellent, but somewhat peculiar, race of men, and for opinions and observances which, in him, assuredly, it would be impious not to reverence, professes but small respect even for religionists of his own Church whose ideas and habits differ from his own. With this qualification, we cordially recommend these interesting records of a class of Christians whose sphere was limited, and whose names are little known, but who served God with much simplicity, zeal, and usefulness. The Wesleyan reader, in particular, who is conversant with the lives and characters of the founders of his own Church, will feel a curious pleasure in tracing certain resemblances between them and those who, almost contemporaneously with the rise of Methodism in England, were made the means of a great revival of religion in the northernmost portions of the island. Dr. Angus M'Intosh, minister of Tain, sat for the portrait; but who does not realize, in such passages as the following, his conceptions of an old-fashioned Methodist preacher?

His personal appearance was remarkable; tall and of a massive figure, a dark complexion, a face full of expression, and a bearing peculiarly solemn and dignified, he attracted at once the eye of a stranger, and never failed to command his respect. Those who knew him well could tell what kind of subject he had been studying, from the expression of his countenance as he entered the pulpit. The text had been deeply and powerfully affecting his heart, and his expressive face gave out the feeling which it had produced. There was a gloom of awe on his countenance, as if the very shadow of Sinai were darkening it; when his heart was charged with a message of terror; and the softened cast of his features, and the gleam of light in his eye, at other times, encouraged the broken-hearted to expect a message of encouragement and comfort. To a stranger he seemed to wear an air of sternness. His love did not lie on the surface, like that of many, whose indiscriminate kindness is seen by every eye, while they have no hidden treasures of affection for any. His heart once reached, it

was found fraught with love; but it was too precious and too sanctified to be given in intimate fellowship to any but to those whom he could embrace as brethren in Christ. Those who loved him at all, loved him as they loved no other. In the society of kindred spirits, there was often a radiant cheerfulness in his manner, that made his conversation peculiarly attractive. But he was the man of God, wherever he was, ever keeping an unflinching front to sin. His holy life, and the authority of his doctrine, and his solemn and dignified bearing, invested him with a power before which iniquity hid its face, and evil-doers could not be bold to sin.'

So of the following:—

'Perhaps of all "the men" of Ross-shire, the most famous was Hugh Ross, commonly called Hugh Brice. Mr. James Fraser of Alness was his father in Christ. After the death of that eminent minister, a preacher was presented to the parish of Alness whom Hugh opposed with all his influence. This man having been thrust into the charge, Hugh was greatly distressed, and was so violently excited that, being naturally keen-tempered, it was easy for the tempter to persuade him, that all his agitation was but the sinful fretting of his temper, and that there was no exercise of grace at all in the ferment of his spirit. On the first Sabbath after the induction, he resolved to go and hear Mr. Porteus. Mr. Porteus preached that day on "the hidden man of the heart." (1 Peter iii. 4.) To illustrate his subject, he referred to the ark and its coverings in the wilderness. "Its outside covering was made of badgers' skins," he said, "and the fur of this animal always points against the wind; and as one looked on it, rough and ruffled, as a breeze was blowing on the Tabernacle, it seemed very unlikely that under it the precious ark was hidden. Thus is the hidden man of the heart often hidden under a fretful temper; and there is one now present who has lately felt his mind so ruffled under a trying providence, that he finds it impossible to believe that the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit can be his at all. But let us raise this covering and examine what is under it;" and then, removing one covering after another, he conducted Hugh at last to the hidden man of the heart within himself, and the Holy Spirit sealed to his soul, by the truth, a satisfying evidence of grace. Cheered by this seasonable comfort, he returned home.'

Here is the Peter Cartwright of his day:—

'Mr. Æneas Sage was "a man of undaunted spirit, who did not know what the fear of man was. He had, however, the fear of God, and great zeal for the good cause in its highest perfection. He was the determined enemy of vice, and a true friend of the Gospel." At the time of his induction, the state of the parish was very much the same as it was found by the presbytery to be in 1649, when, after visiting it, they reported that "there were no elders in it by reason of malignancy; swearing, drunkenness, cursing, Sabbath profanation, and uncleanness prevailed." As to the church, there was found in it "one formal stool of repentance, but no pulpit nor desks." The stool, if the only, was the suitable seat for all the people of Lochcarron in

these days; but the more it was required, the less power there was to make it aught else than "ane formal" thing, as the solitary occupant of the church.

Matters continued in this state till the induction of Mr. Sage, nearly eighty years after. On the night of his first arrival at Lochcarron, an attempt was made to burn the house in which he lodged; and for some time after his induction, his life was in constant danger. But the esteem he could not win as a minister, he soon acquired for his great physical strength. The first man in Lochcarron in those days was the champion at the athletic games. Conscious of his strength, and knowing that he would make himself respected by all, if could only lay big Rory on his back, who was acknowledged to be the strongest man in the district, the minister joined the people, on the earliest opportunity, at their games. Challenging the whole field, he competed for the prize in putting the stone, tossing the caber, and wrestling, and won an easy victory. His fame was established at once. The minister was now the champion of the district, and none was more ready to defer to him than he whom he had deprived of the laurel. Taking Rory aside to a confidential crack, he said to him, "Now, Rory, I am the minister, and you must be my elder, and we both must see to it that all the people attend church, observe the Sabbath, and conduct themselves properly." Rory fell in with the proposal at once. On Sabbath, when the people would gather to their games in the forenoon, the minister and his elder would join them, and each taking a couple by the hand, they would drag them to the church, lock them in, and then return to catch some more. This was repeated till none were left on the field. Then, stationing the elder with his cudgel at the door, the minister would mount the pulpit and conduct the service. One of his earliest sermons was blessed to the conversion of his assistant, and a truly valuable coadjutor he found in big Rory thereafter.

Space forbids any formal attempt either to contrast or to compare the two races of men. So far as they were obviously unlike, it would not be hard to discover how the difference arose. The Methodist was much the happier man of the two. His theology—whether more or less scriptural than that of the Highlander, this is not the place to discuss—gave him a freer play of his weapons, and a more sanguine hope of victory. That of the Highland Presbyterian was stiff, angular, and cumbersome. Climate had its influence. The Deerees loom very portentously through the mists of a November in Ross-shire. The one got little food, but he relished it; the other could neither cook nor digest his more plentiful supply. The Englishman lived a day at a time; the Scotchman was moody and foreboding. The one was an incarnation of love and joy; the other rather of meek and resolute submission. But comparison is pleasanter than contrast. The most striking likenesses in the case of individuals are not of feature but of expression. Here we have both. The fervour and spirituality were the same, and the forms they took were very similar. Mr. Kennedy's defence of one custom in the High-

lands is perfect, or, if it fail at all for his purpose, makes an excellent 'apology' for certain Methodist usages :—

'When a godly Highland minister discerned a promise of usefulness in a man who seemed to have been truly converted to God, he brought him gradually forward into a more public position by calling him first to pray, and then to "speak to the question" at the ordinary congregational meetings. According to the manner in which he approved himself there was the prospect of his being enrolled among "the Friday speakers" on communion occasions. It was thus the order of "the men" was established, and thus the body of "the men" was formed. The only peculiarity about them, besides their godliness, was their service in the fellowship meeting. This has to some eyes the wild look of a great irregularity. It is thought that "the men" were pushed forward into the position of public speakers by the current of popular feelings, and that the ministers were compelled to share with them their own place, in order to reserve any part of it to themselves. Than this there cannot be a greater mistake. The peculiar service of "the men" was not thrust upon those ministers who were what ministers should be. By such it was freely and deliberately adopted, and none of them had ever cause to regret that it was. "The men" were never found to be enemies to due ecclesiastical order, though they failed in learning to submit to an undue ecclesiastical tyranny. The great object of the fellowship meeting was the mutual comfort and edification of believers, with a special reference to the cases of such as were exercised with fears as to their interest in Christ. And how was it conducted? At first, only communicants were present, but latterly admission became indiscriminate. The minister presides, and, after prayer, praise, and the reading of a portion of Scripture, he calls on any one who is anxious to propose a question to the meeting to do so. This call is responded to by some man who rises, mentions a passage of Scripture, describing some feature of the Christian character, and expresses his desire to ascertain the marks of those whom the passage describes, and the various respects in which they may differ from merely nominal Christians. The scope of the passage of Scripture is then opened up by the minister, and the exact import of the question founded upon it is explained. He then calls by name, successively, on such as are of repute for piety, experience, and gifts, to "speak to the question." One after another rises, as he is called, states briefly his view of the question, and, without attempting either to expound Scripture, or to deliver an exhortation, or venturing to parade his own experience, speaks from the heart what he has felt and feared and enjoyed, under the power of the truth. Thereafter, the minister sums up all that has been said; correcting, confirming, and expanding, as may be necessary; and makes a practical improvement of the whole. The person who proposed the question is then usually called to engage in prayer, and with praise and benediction the meeting closes. Such was the fellowship meeting in the good days of the fathers in Ross-shire.'

A lesson for class-leaders :—'They loved one another. Their position

being one of greater eminence than that of mere private Christians, and opportunities of sowing discord among them being all the more manifold because of the peculiar service in which they were employed, it is quite marvellous how few instances of unseemly quarrels their enemies can record against them. Sometimes differences would arise; but they were felt by them all as a family affliction would be felt. In such cases a peacemaker would always be found. Sometimes his task would be made an easy one. One of them, hearing of a quarrel between two of his brethren, set off at once to make peace. Meeting one of the offenders, he asked, "Is it true that you and James have quarrelled?" "O, yes; alas! it is quite true," was the reply; "but James is not to be blamed; the fault is all mine." "If I find James," he remarked, "in the same state of mind, I expect very soon to see you at one again." On reaching the other, he said, "I am sorry to hear that you have quarrelled with John." "O, yes," he replied; "but it was my hasty temper that did all the mischief." "Come with me then," the peacemaker said, "and confess your fault to your brother." He at once agreed to accompany him; and, no sooner did the separated brethren meet, than they embraced each other, mutually forgave and were forgiven, and continued ever after in the bond of peace.

Here are two or three stories taken at random.—Charles Calder was a minister 'not ignorant of Satan's devices. He was getting too near to the mercy-seat to be allowed by the enemy to escape his revenge; and he had, besides, to bear the malice which was provoked by the inroads he was the means of making on his kingdom in the world. Often did he find it difficult to leave his study on a Sabbath morning, and many a sleepless Sabbath night did he spend, because of the short-comings of the Sabbath service. He had a partner of his temporal lot, who was also a partner of his spiritual joys and sorrows, and whose prudence was equal to her piety. Often to her wise interference it was due that he went out at all to public duty. Once she found him in an agony of fear, lying on his study floor, at the hour for beginning the service in the church. "O, why was I ever a minister?" he cried, as she entered, "I should have been a tradesman rather." "My dear, the Lord knew that you had not strength for a tradesman's work," was his wife's wise reply, as she pointed to his delicately-formed limbs; "but as He has given you a voice wherewith to speak the praise of Christ, go with it to the work which now awaits you." He rose and went to the pulpit; the Lord shone on his soul, and blessed his preaching; and there are memories in heaven, and will be for ever, of that Sabbath service in the church of Ferintosh.' 'Mr. Lachlan, preaching on one occasion against the sin of lying, counselled his people to refrain in all circumstances from prevarication and falsehood; assuring them that they would find it their best policy for time, as well as their safest course for eternity. One of his hearers, conscious of having often told a lie, and finding it impossible to believe that it could always be wise to tell the truth, went to speak

to the minister on the subject. He was a smuggler; and while conversing with Mr. Lachlan, he said, "Surely, if the exciseman should ask me where I hid my whiskey, it would not be wrong that I should lead him off the scent?" His minister would not allow that this was a case to which the rule he laid down was not applicable, and advised him, even in such circumstances, to tell the simple truth. The smuggler was soon after put to the test. While working behind his house by the wayside, in the following week, the exciseman came up to him, and said, "Is there any whiskey about your house to-day?" Remembering his minister's advice, the smuggler at once said, though not without misgivings as to the result, "Yes; there are three casks of whiskey buried in a hole under my bed; and if you will search for them there, you will find them." "You rascal," the exciseman said, "if they were there, you would be the last to tell me," and at once walked away. As soon as he was out of hearing, and the smuggler could breathe freely again, he exclaimed, "O, Mr. Lachlan, Mr. Lachlan, you were right as usual!"

'The well-known Robert Macleod was Donald Macpherson's devoted disciple. The story of his first prayer in Donald's family has been often told. To Robert's bewilderment, his host abruptly asked him to pray at family worship during a visit which he paid him. He dared not refuse; so, turning on his knees, and addressing his Creator, he said, "Thou knowest that though I have bent my knees to pray to Thee, I am much more under the fear of Donald Macpherson than under the fear of Thyself." Donald allowed him to proceed no further, but, tapping him on the shoulder, said, "That will do, Robert; you have honestly begun, and you will honourably end;" and then he himself concluded the service.'

'Mrs. Mackay was usually called "the woman of great faith." "The woman of great faith!" a minister once exclaimed, on being introduced to her for the first time. "No, no," she quickly said; "but the woman of small faith in the great God."

'Dr. Mackenzie, when minister of Clyne, used, as often as he could, to bring his godly father to preach on a week-day in his church. He invited on such occasions all the ministers of the Presbytery to be his guests at the manse. Mrs. Mackay was present on one of these days; and being seated in the drawing-room, after the service in church was over, the minister of Tongue came in. Rushing up to him, in her own eager way, "Glad I am to see, and still more glad to hear you," she said. "O, you could not have been glad in hearing me to-day," Mr. Mackenzie said with a sigh, "for I had but little to say, and even that little I could only speak in bonds." "Hush, man," was her quick reply;

"A little that a just man hath
Is more and better far
Than is the wealth of many such
As lewd and wicked are;"

and, as she repeated the two last lines, she waved her hand across the group of Moderates who were seated beside her.'

On the whole, we like Mr. Kennedy. If he have faults, they are

those of a vigorous and earnest man. We shall be glad to shake hands with him when he is a little older.

Mr. Bonar's beautiful Memoir may be commended, without qualification or limit. The story of David Sandeman is that of a young man born in affluence, who, in the first instance, devoted himself to mercantile pursuits, but who, yielding to a call manifestly Divine, prepared himself by much watchfulness and prayer, and by hard study, for the ministry, and went as a missionary to China, under the auspices of the English Presbyterian Church. After two years' labour, he was suddenly snatched away by cholera; leaving behind him the whole of his fortune to be devoted to missionary purposes, and a memory which will attract the more of love and admiration as the public shall become familiar with his biography. Young ministers, and especially those who contemplate foreign service, will do well to put this book on the same shelf with the precious records of the lives of even Henry Martyn, Pearce, and Hunt.

Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligations. The Bampton Lecture for 1860. By the Rev. Dr. Hessey.

THE Bampton Lecture is one of the standing and permanent institutions to which we look for the defence of the Christian faith. It is avowedly a champion one object of which is to take up the gauntlet of every new phase of infidelity, as it comes forward with its defiance year after year. It has done its work nobly for many years that are gone; the good Cause owes it much respect; and it will doubtless do good service in time to come. Nothing can be more desirable than that this institution should keep to its proper and sacred business; in that it will always find enough to do. The Infidel and the Rationalist we have always with us. Never was there more necessity for Oxford to choose the right men, and for those men to mind their allotted work, than now. The *Essays and Reviews* are but the beginnings of evils. Their own peculiarity of misbelief has scarcely yet been fairly met by English writers; and the bias which they will communicate to the thinking of the present generation must have such provision made for it as has not yet been made. We earnestly hope that the subjects of the next two or three years' Lectures are already well chosen; and that the prospective lecturers are giving their work the benefit of long deliberation. Not that this institution is our sheet-anchor: far from it:—but because it has peculiar and very important advantages for the performance and for the success of such a service.

Looked at in the light of the considerations just mentioned, the Bampton Lecture of 1860 must be deemed a failure. It has contributed rather to the unsettlement than the settlement of the public mind. It has not aimed to silence objections, but to raise them; or, at least, that has been its effect. We do not deny that the Sabbath question comes within the scope of the Bampton Lecture; or think that its discussion is ever unseasonable, or even unseasonable at the present time. It occupies a large share of public attention; and necessarily so, for it touches at many points the convictions and theories of all who direct

public opinion. Statesmen find it continually obtruding itself in their legislation; philanthropists have their distinctive pros and cons on the subject; and divines of all shades of creed are constantly involved in controversy as to the theoretical place and practical obligations of the day. And a book might have been sent forth that would have done great service to the Faith which is so vitally bound up with the Lord's Day. But, on the whole, Dr. Hessey's is not such a book. It is very learned, being the fruit of many years' labour, and exhausts, or almost exhausts, the historical element of the question. But it is uncertain in its tone; it yields by far too much; and where it is not destructive, its positive theories are erroneous.

Dr. Hessey gives a fair view of the various theories which have been formed and held in the Christian Church on the nature and obligations of the Seventh Day.

First come those who regard the distinction of days as having entirely ceased. Their notion is, that the Mosaic law has been entirely abrogated; that Christ has fulfilled the law, which is, therefore, no longer binding upon Christian believers, left now to the free instincts of liberty and love. The Sabbath, of course, was abrogated with the rest; and it is dishonourable to the spirit of the Gospel that any one portion of time should be invested with more sanctity than the rest. The opposite extreme argues that Christ did not come to abolish any law, especially the moral law of the Decalogue; and, therefore, that the original enactment is still binding, the Old-Testament Sabbath with all its exactness and rigour. Such a Judaic Sabbath as this may be found in some corners of Christendom, but not among us.

Setting these two extremes aside, there remain two distinct views, which may respectively be placed at the head of sundry subdivisions of theory which now prevail, as they have always prevailed, in the Christian Church. The one may be termed the Sabbatarian, or Christian-Sabbath doctrine; the other may be termed the Dominical, or simply ecclesiastical doctrine of the day.

The former, the stricter theory, rests upon the assumption that the fourth Commandment is the ground of the observance. It holds that the violation of the sanctity of the day is as distinctly a sin as the transgression of any other of the Ten Commandments. It holds, however, that our Christian Sabbath is the representative of an earlier Sabbath which dated from the creation of the world; that the modern institute had incorporated that earlier festival, throwing round it many rigorous sanctions; that the Apostles were commissioned to alter the day, but not the ordinance itself; that it is now a day of glad celebration of the resurrection of the Lord.

The other, and laxer, view is based upon the hypothesis that the Sabbath was first imposed upon the Jews a short time before it was formally published in the Decalogue, and therefore expired with the Jewish dispensation. It holds that the fourth Commandment is not a moral precept, (excepting so far as it contains the moral element which asserts that God is to be worshipped at some time,) and, therefore, that it is not binding upon Christians as a law of God. It regards

the Lord's Day as no Sabbath, but as a purely ecclesiastical institution, having an origin, a reason, and an obligation of its own. Some claim for it apostolical, that is, Divine, origin and sanction; others make it purely ecclesiastical in its derivation, the apostolical age bearing no trace of its observance. Some hold that it was a temporary afterthought of the Church, conciliating the weak; others that it was appointed for lasting obligation. Some elevate it to all the festal dignity of the ancient Sabbath; others lower it almost to the level of a mere canonical and kalendar importance.

It will strike every thoughtful reader that the true theory of the Lord's Day is to be sought in the combination of these two hypotheses. Dr. Hessey strives to harmonize them; but his attempt is a failure. He holds that the Jewish festival was abrogated by the New Testament; but that the Lord's Day is a Divine and apostolical festival in memory of the Lord's resurrection. He maintains that in the centuries which immediately followed St. John's death, the Lord's Day was never confounded with the Sabbath; but that Sabbatarianism crept in subsequently, when the Jewish and Christian systems were confused. He denies that the idea of a Creation-Sabbath and Patriarchal-Sabbath can be *proved* to have had any foundation in fact. He holds that the fourth Commandment was a positive ordinance, and is now annulled; while the moral element which it contained is preserved in the legislation of the New-Testament institution. Thus he mediates between the two systems, though with an evident leaning to the spirit of the second or ecclesiastical view; the practical working of his theory must needs coincide with that of the laxer, and partake of all its evil results.

But our purpose is accomplished: the great question itself belongs to a more prominent part of this Journal, where it has had, and shall have again, its full discussion.

Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. Edidit Enoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, &c. Leipzic. 1860.

THIS is Professor Tischendorf's own account of the most remarkable discovery of our age,—a new Codex, containing part of the Old Testament and the whole of the New. He gives a graphic narrative of the history of the discovery and his preparations for the publication of the text, with specimens of its readings, the entire text of certain pages, and a beautiful fac-simile.

Tischendorf—the foremost living explorer and collator of Biblical manuscripts—visited the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai in May, 1844, and found there a basket of fragments destined for the fire by the monks. He obtained possession of this spoil, and in 1846 published its contents, being part of the Old Testament. This is known as the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. He kept silence, however, as to another secret: viz., that he had *seen* a great deal more of the same MS. than he had obtained. It appears that the Russian Archiman-

drite Porphyrius saw the same MS., and actually observed that it contained the New Testament; but he did not publish his statement until 1856. Meanwhile, in 1853, Tischendorf was again attracted to Mount Sinai; but, to his dismay, the precious MS. was not to be found: doubtless the miserable monks had burnt his prize in the successive fires of the nine past years. A third time he went there, commissioned by the Russian Emperor, Alexander II., to search out and obtain any ancient Greek and Oriental MSS. which might be accessible. His hopes were not defeated this time; but he must speak for himself.

'On the last day of the month of January, I arrived at the monastery of St. Catherine for the third time, and was most kindly received by the Sinaitic brethren. On the 4th of February, when I had already sent one of the servants to fetch camels with which on the 7th I might return to Egypt, while taking a walk with the steward of the monastery, I was conversing on the subject of the Septuagint version, some copies of which, as edited by me, together with copies of my New Testament, I had brought for the brethren. On our return from the walk, we entered the steward's dormitory. He said that he, too, had there a copy of the Septuagint, and he placed before my eyes the cloth in which it was wrapped. I opened the cloth, and saw what far surpassed all my hopes; for there were there contained very ample remains of the Codex which I had a good while before declared to be the most ancient of all Greek Codices on vellum that are extant; and amongst these relics I saw existing not only those which I had taken from the basket in 1844, and other books of the Old Testament, but also (and this is of the highest importance) the whole New Testament, without even the smallest defect; and to this were added the whole of the Epistle of Barnabas, and the former part of the Shepherd. It was impossible for me to conceal the admiration which this caused.'

In his own chamber he examined the MS. at length and with care. All the leaves were loose, which shows how near they had been to destruction. The monks consented that he should be allowed to transcribe the MS. at Cairo if their superior, resident in that city, should consent. At Cairo he did transcribe the MS. for publication; but, in the mean time, the MS. was put into his hands, September 28th, 1859, to be presented to the Emperor Alexander II.

In 1862, a fac-simile edition will be ready for presentation to the several libraries of Europe; and a common edition will be also published, which will throw the Codex open to all the world. Till then, therefore, public curiosity must be content with such preliminary information as these *Notices* contain; and the good sense of Tischendorf has prompted him to make those Notices so full as to supply the learned world with ample materials to make a collation of the new MS., as it respects, at least, all the more important and crucial passages of the New Testament.

The attributes which give this MS. of the New Testament so deep an interest to the general public are its high antiquity and absolute

completeness. It seems almost beyond question that it is the very oldest manuscript of the New Testament now extant. Of course, such a claim as this will not pass unchallenged; a discovery of the nineteenth century will not be allowed to take precedence of all the Codices which Biblical criticism has depended upon for eighteen centuries, without very searching scrutiny into its rights. Hitherto we have only the opinion of Tischendorf; but there is no living authority superior to his. The grounds on which he claims this highest antiquity for his Codex are briefly the following: 1. The form of the letters, approximating closely to those of the Herculaneum MSS. 2. The number of the columns in each page are four, a number which is furthest removed from the book form of a single column; the Vatican MS. having only three. 3. The orthography of the Codex. 4. The fact that the Epistle of Barnabas and the Pastor of Hermas are appended, showing that it was written at a time when these documents were erroneously supposed to belong to the canon. 5. The order of the Books in the New Testament. 6. The inscriptions and subscriptions. 7. The character of the corrections made. 8. The fact that the Ammonian chapters and the Canons of Eusebius are wanting. And, 9. The presence of readings which may be proved by other evidence to be of the highest antiquity. If this induction of proofs be sustained, the Vatican must surrender its place. This, after all, is as yet an open question; but it will soon be decided. Meanwhile, the perfection of modern texts, and the mutual jealousies of the critics, alike assure us that full justice will be done in this momentous contest.

As to the other point,—the completeness of the New Testament text,—the Vatican and all others must yield. This new Codex contains—what no other contains—the entire body of the six books, and each book without a chasm. In the Pastoral Epistles, the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation, its rival is defective; and we may suppose with what interest its discoverer turned to those testing places, and found them perfect.

The order of the books is as follows: The four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles, (Hebrews preceding the Pastorals,) the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Revelation. But more important than this is the confirmation which it is found to give to some of the testing readings which heterodoxy has been wont to impugn, and the modification of others on which perhaps too much stress has been laid by the orthodox. The time will come when we shall have a complete account of its decisions on all controverted questions; and till then it would be premature to sum them up. In general, it may be noted, that it accredits Matt. i. 1; ii. 23; that it includes the first two chapters of St. Luke; that it gives 'the Church of God' in Acts xx. 28; that it omits the disputed part of 1 John v. 7; that it omits Mark xvi. 8-20, as well as the case of the woman taken in adultery; and that it has the reading *ὁ* instead of *Θεός* in 1 Tim. iii. 16.

But the year which will add so much glory to St. Petersburg is nigh at hand; and the world may be well content to wait.

The Codex **N** will then take its place in Biblical criticism, and among the standard documents of our Faith.

History of the Venetian Republic: her Rise, her Greatness, and her Civilization. By W. Carew Hazlitt, of the Inner Temple. Four Vols. 8vo. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

THE appearance of these very interesting volumes is exceedingly well-timed. The interest which Englishmen take in the affairs of Italy, the satisfaction with which the successes of the patriotic cause are universally regarded here, and especially the mournful exception to those successes which the case of Venetia presents, will secure for Mr. Hazlitt a wide and sympathizing circle of readers. He does not, indeed, touch upon the proximate, or even the more obvious of the remote, causes of the present humiliation of Venice. His narrative is brought down no further than to the middle of the fifteenth century, the time when the republic had reached her culminating point. But the attentive student of her history will gather materials for profound and instructive reflection from the chequered and wonderful story of 'her rise, her greatness, and her civilization.'

In so brief a notice as the present, we are, of course, limited to observations of the most general kind. We are anxious that our readers should have a fair general notion of what they will find in these volumes. They must be prepared for a few blemishes in style, and for such affectations as 'sweept and dwelled,' instead of 'swept and dwelt.' Nor must they expect any great degree of constructive skill, or artistic finish, or dramatic force. But the story is clearly and consecutively told, is encumbered with very little in the way of disquisition or criticism, and is therefore not disfigured, as is too often the case with our histories, by the constant presentation of the effigy of the author's own dear self.

The constitutional progress of the republic is very distinctly narrated. How the Veneti, flying from the desolating hordes of Alaric and Attila, as the latter swept the plains of Lombardy, found a city of refuge on the *lidi* and among the lagoons formed by the mouths of several great rivers; how, in the midst of poverty and hardship, they founded a purely democratic republic, controlled by a popular assembly, and by a consular and tribunitial executive, popularly chosen; how the factions inseparable from such a form of government quarrelled with and murdered one another, and disturbed the peace of the republic, till she took refuge in the establishment of an elective monarchy; how, investing her chief magistrate, or doge, with very ample powers, she permitted him to enlarge, consolidate, and perpetuate them by slow but sure encroachments, till they became practically hereditary and absolute; how there grew up, through enlarging commerce and the wealth it brings, a powerful aristocracy, who watched the aggrandizement of the doge with increasing jealousy, and, at last, contrived effectually to restrain it till it became little more than the shadow of

a name; and how the power of the aristocracy itself was ultimately monopolized by a few leading families and statesmen, till the once free and independent republic was governed by a narrow, secret, and unscrupulous oligarchy,—may all be read in the plainest manner in Mr. Hazlitt's instructive and able work.

He gives us also a very clear and consecutive account of the political advancement and territorial aggrandizement of Venice during the nine hundred years of her history which he reviews. Her relations to the Byzantine empire; to the Latin empire of the west; to the various municipalities, duchies, and kingdoms of the Italian peninsula; to the kingdom of Hungary, and the eastern shores of the Adriatic; the part she played in the Crusades against the Mussulmans in the East; the marvellous, adroit, and keen-sighted policy by which she managed to maintain commercial relations with all around her, while she was constantly augmenting her territory and political influence at their expense; her fierce contests by land, but especially by sea, with her commercial rivals, particularly with Genoa; the straits into which she was sometimes brought, but out of which she generally extricated herself with gain both of honour and influence; and all the ways, by which the little colony of fishermen grew up to be a first-class power, and interfered effectually in the greatest conflicts of the Middle Ages, pass in regular and well-managed review before us, constantly exciting our wonder and admiration. On one subject only do these volumes appear to us to be meagre and unsatisfactory. Enough, indeed, is said to show that the republic maintained always a firm though respectful attitude toward the Papacy; and that she sometimes incurred great troubles by her independence. But, generally speaking, Mr. Hazlitt deals with this subject as if he were rather afraid of it. We know of no reason why; but, in a work which relates the history of a state like Venice down to the very eve of the Reformation, it seems to us that more should have been said of her relations to the Papal court, and of the development of the influence and institutions of the Church within her own territory.

Many of the episodes of this marvellous history were singularly dramatic and striking; and these in general are well, but by no means very eloquently, told in these volumes. We could mention works which derive their principal charm from the uncommonly life-like way in which such incidents are narrated. This is not Mr. Hazlitt's special merit. But we cannot withhold the meed of admiration from his account of the capture of Constantinople, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, by the combined forces of the republic and the powers of Western Europe. The lofty bearing and indomitable courage, as well as diplomatic skill and remarkable moderation, of Venice, are finely described; and the grand old figure of the Doge Dandolo stands out in wonderful and impressive relief. Nor is the story of the siege of Venice by Genoa, of the patient endurance and fortitude of its citizens, and of the triumph against seemingly insuperable difficulties of their heroic leaders, less admirable and thrilling. We may mention, as examples of a similar kind, on a smaller scale, and within the domestic circle of the republic, the story of the

treachery and execution of the Doge Marino Faliero, and those of Francesco Novello and the Two Foscari.

The author has judiciously presented the juridical and constitutional history of the republic, and the picture of its manners and domestic and social usages, &c., in two very interesting and valuable chapters at the close of the work. We hope we have said enough to induce many of our readers to study these very instructive and entertaining volumes.

Life at Bethany; or, The Words and Tears of Jesus. By the Rev. Edwin Davies, Author of 'Glimpses of our Heavenly Home,' &c. London: Heylin. 1860.

MR. DAVIES is the deservedly popular Minister of a place classical in the annals of Independency by the title of 'Hoxton Academy Chapel;' and is favourably known to the reading world by his work on the 'Destiny of the Glorified.' The present volume, which deals with the history of Lazarus and his sisters, will not detract from his fair fame. The touching Gospel narrative afforded a theme well adapted for his peculiar powers to dilate upon; and he has availed himself of its many points of pathos as subjects for several charming chapters, which may be read with profit by Christians of all denominations, and will be particularly acceptable to those who are suffering from sickness or bereavement. The tone of the whole volume is evangelical, and its aim thoroughly practical. To some it may seem especially fitted for perusal in the quiet of the Sabbath; but, like all other sterling 'Sunday books,' it will be found apt and good for any day in the week.

Translations by Lord Lyttelton and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1861.

THIS elegant volume contains some graceful specimens of translation from the pen of Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Gladstone,—written for the most part in their early days. They serve to show the exquisite finish of classical scholarship which it has been the glory of the public schools and universities to produce, and of which the two names, whose laurels are here intertwined, are among the noblest representatives. But this is not their only use: they are themselves, some of them, very worthy specimens of skill in rendering into another tongue, and another metre, some of the purest gems of ancient and modern poetry. Nothing is more difficult than this. Poetry has scarcely ever been well translated; and the reasons of the almost universal failure are obvious to every one. Most of these efforts are failures in respect to translation; as any one will feel who reads the stiff rendering of Tennyson, or the halting, spasmodical, and lyrical rendering of Homer's majestic lines. But they give pleasure as gallant efforts to overcome an essential difficulty; and that pleasure is heightened by the consideration that a grave and careworn Chancellor of the Exchequer finds time to recreate his mind in the refinements of classical composition, and thus to throw down the gauntlet to younger men.

The English translations in this volume are, it seems to us, decidedly the best. Mr. Gladstone has given a few stanzas of Dante in a

way which hardly leaves anything to be desired. But we cannot rate very highly some of his later attempts, especially, at Greek and Latin verse. Here follows, for instance, a hymn which all our readers will recognise; but who will not think that it opens badly, and that Mr. Gladstone must try his hand again?

'Jesus, pro me perforatus,
Condar intra Tunni latus.
Tu per lympham profluentem,
Tu per sanguinem tepentem,
In peccata mi redunda,
Tolle culpam, sordes munda.

The remainder of the hymn we need not give; it will be found in a note on p. 216.

It is much more easy to translate German poetry into English than that of any other tongue; a fact which seems to speak of a secret and sure affinity underlying the superficial difference of the two tongues; and Mr. Gladstone would succeed almost to perfection, were he to exercise his skill on some of the tender old Lutheran hymns. Witness the following from *Der Freischütz*:

'Though wrapt in clouds, yet still, and still
The steadfast Sun th' empyrean ways;
There, still prevails a holy will;
'Tis not blind Chance the world obeys;
The Eye Eternal, pure, and clear,
Regards, and holds all Being dear.
'For me too will the Father care,
Whose heart and soul in Him confide;
And though my last of days it were,
And though He called me to His side,
His eye, Eternal, pure, and clear,
Me too regards, and holds me dear.'

The Life of William Scoresby, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.S., L.
and E. By his Nephew, R. E. Scoresby-Jackson, M.D.
Nelson. 1861.

DR. SCORESBY has a good claim to be placed among the foremost of England's modern maritime heroes. He was one of the first who dared those perilous enterprises to the frozen north which have given so romantic and so tragical an interest to our seafaring history during the last fifty years. But he has also a higher claim to our admiration and honour. He was no less eminent as a Christian than as a seaman; and for a long series of years he was the untiring promoter of every scheme for the advancement of religion among sailors.

William Scoresby was born at Whitby on October 5th, 1780. His father—another William Scoresby—was one of the earliest of the sea captains whose indefatigable perseverance revived the British whale fishery, and made it a very lucrative branch of maritime commerce. His mother was a pious woman, and her children were brought up religiously; the future commander and minister never lost the impression of her early influence. In his seventeenth year he was apprenticed to his father; and was the constant companion—with the exception of a few terms at the Edinburgh University—

of his Arctic voyages. His scientific observations in the Polar regions—which afterwards expanded into a complete literature of itself—commenced in the voyage of 1808. These were communicated to the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh, and secured him the friendship and favour of some of the most eminent men of science in Scotland. In 1810, on the retirement of his father, he became the commander of the old 'Resolution,' and made several prosperous voyages. Afterwards in the 'Esk' he made himself still more famous by a series of researches and discoveries which distanced all former achievements. He may fairly be said to have led the way on the great career of modern Polar enterprise. A paper entitled, 'A Description of the Polar Sea,' containing a project for reaching the North Pole by travelling on the ice, made a great sensation in England; and when in 1820 he published his work on the 'Arctic Regions,' he secured for himself the first place as an authority in all matters pertaining to northern exploration.

For many years before this he had been a strictly religious man, though it was not till his twenty-fifth year that he regarded himself as soundly converted. His government of his ship was decidedly and at all sacrifices religious. He made it an undeviating rule not to fish on the Sabbath. His harpooners, deeply interested themselves in the number of fishes captured, were very loth to accommodate themselves to this strict rule; and as it happened, on several occasions, that a number of fine whales presented themselves on the holy day, he found it very hard to carry out his rule. But his persevering integrity was rewarded; doubtless God honoured it, and suffered him to lose nothing. Certain it is that by degrees the men came to feel a pleasure in the sanctification and rest of the day.

His last voyages were made in the service of exploration on the east coast of Greenland; and subordinately for the purpose of seeking out the traces of Norwegian colonies which had been planted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—thus showing that the search for Franklin was not the first search of the kind. Scoresby was convinced that descendants of these old colonists might be found—though probably in a degenerate and savage state—if he could succeed in penetrating to the original site of the colony. History informs us that in the twelfth century Christianity flourished, through their influence, in Greenland. They multiplied churches and the institutions of Christianity, and spread eastward and westward in two large bands. But this dispersion was their ruin. The western colonists were exterminated by the wild Greenlanders; the fate of those on the eastern side was never known. Possibly, they fell victims to the 'Black Death,' an awful disease which, in 1348, desolated the whole of the northern frontier of Europe; but more probably they were extinguished or absorbed by the original Greenlanders.

Scoresby withdrew from the service just at the time when his genius had reached its maturity, and when his energies seemed to be most wanted. But he had for some time felt an uncontrollable desire to enter the Christian ministry. During his last voyage he occupied himself, among other things, with the preparation of the *Seaman's Prayer Book*, a bold attempt to adapt the services of the Church of

England to the use of sailors, which has been extremely useful, whatever its merits may be. After the customary preliminaries had been gone through, and terms kept at Cambridge, he was ordained: the sea lost one of its most shining lights, and the Church of England gained a respectable evangelical Minister. It is not for us to question whether his piety and great influence might not have been more serviceable to the Gospel had he continued afloat; he acted on his convictions, and never repented of the change.

That change, however, broke in some measure the unity of his career. But not altogether; for one of his first appointments was to the Mariners' Church, Liverpool, where he preached sermons which have been considered models of such discourses as sailors should hear. The health of his second wife soon rendered a change to the south needful; and he undertook the incumbency of Bedford Chapel, Exeter. There he laboured very hard and very successfully; there also he underwent severe discipline, losing, in brief succession, his only sons—sons whose promise was the joy of his heart. In the year 1839, the trustees of the late Rev. Charles Simeon invited him to accept the vacant office of Vicar of Bradford. After much demur, he undertook this great and difficult charge. Seven years he spent there of uninterrupted toil, controversy, and trouble; but we shall not enter into the detail of the long and harassing contest in which he became involved. It was connected with the revenues of his office; and, as far as we can judge, he was in the right. But his unflinching resolution, though of much service to his successors, ruined his own usefulness and peace, and led to his removal. He settled in Torquay; and an occasional afternoon service was the only ecclesiastical duty that he ever afterwards engaged in.

Through all these years, however, he paid unintermitting attention to science—always in the practical interest of navigation, and for the good of the service. He took a prominent part in the sessions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and was one of its highest authorities in everything pertaining to magnetism. He paid two visits to America; and in one of the outward voyages made those curious observations on the Atlantic waves which have been read, in his own published paper and in the daily prints, with so much interest:—never was before old Ocean watched in his furious moods with such cool and scientific criticism. He was one of the last to give up all hope as to the success of the Franklin search expeditions. He took the lead in the 'Arctic Committee,' and did more than any man to stimulate the public zeal; and we may imagine with what generous congratulations he would have welcomed back Captain M'Clintock, had he been spared to see the result of his expedition. It may be said, that he fell a victim to his scientific ardour; for, in 1855, he undertook a voyage to Australia, partly for his health's sake, but really for the purpose of making some experiments upon the disturbances of the compass in iron ships. His services in this branch of nautical science had been very great; in fact, the invaluable 'Admiralty compass' was his invention, though his claims were never directly acknowledged. The ill-fated 'Royal Charter' was the ship selected for his object; and certain Liverpool Associations subscribed a sum

for all extra expenses. The account of his voyage, published since his death, is one of the most interesting modern sea-narratives. He was the chaplain on both voyages, having 'a compact parish of four or five hundred souls.' His experiments in the southern world were highly satisfactory; the return voyage was as pleasant as it could be; and on the 13th of August, 1856, he landed in the Mersey. It need hardly be added that, little more than three years afterwards, the 'Royal Charter,' which had thus been the subject of experiments calculated to save countless lives in the future, was the victim of one of the most appalling catastrophes of modern times.

Within a few months of his return he died. His end was peace. He was buried in Upton churchyard, amidst the sincere mourning of the town, all the ships having their flags half-mast high.

We lay down this interesting volume with the feeling that we have been reading the record of a worthy life. Scoresby was a noble specimen of the highest type of the English sailor: a skilful, scientific, God-fearing seaman, who never sought his own ends. Though the unity of his life was broken by his change of profession, yet one guiding principle is always seen in operation,—the desire to elevate the sailor both in science and in religion. His heart was always on the main; he worked hard, and in an endless variety of ways, for the good of British maritime commerce, and he now waits for the appreciation and gratitude of posterity. His works are very numerous, and defy classification. Those of them which are purely religious will not maintain their place in our literature; they have the garrulity of the sailor in them, and seldom rise much above common-place. But his scientific papers are of high value; and it would be an excellent service to winnow them of their chaff, to give to oblivion what may now be obsolete, and publish the rest in a few compact and popular volumes.

Whitby has reason to be proud of the name of Scoresby. Any one who may visit that old town will be amply repaid by an inspection of the museum which he endowed there with some of the most precious waifs and strays of his Arctic accumulation.

Half-Hour Lectures on the History and Practice of the Fine and Ornamental Arts. By William B. Scott, Head Master, Government School of Art, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Longmans. 1861.

THIS book is one which we can recommend with confidence to all our readers. It is precisely what its writer leads us to expect,—a series of brief, condensed, and interesting Lectures on the *origines* of the several branches of Art which have been cultivated and brought more or less to perfection, especially in Christian times. The hand of a master has epitomized and arranged the endless materials which are dispersed through a large number of very costly works: not rendering these last unnecessary by any means, but giving such brief hints as will prepare the reader to study them to greater advantage. If he takes pains to master the contents of this little volume, he will

have the key to every branch of the Fine Arts; and, while desirable at all times, this is especially desirable now, in prospect of the Great Exhibition of 1862.

The opening chapter is especially interesting, as giving us a brief but complete view of the condition of the Fine Arts at the introduction of Christianity. The lecturer depicts the debasement into which they had fallen in the corrupt days of the licentious empire,—their debasement in taste, and their debasement in morality. He then conducts us into the subterranean caverns, where Christianity made her first simple and beautiful essays in art. Rome above ground bore witness to the utter degeneracy into which men's ideas of the good and of the beautiful had sunk; while Rome in the catacombs displayed, amidst holy Christian services and symbols, the dawn of a brighter, finer, and more lasting civilization. The reader will be much interested in this chapter, and in the next, which throws open the *Basilica*, the model of so much Christian architecture. Nor will his interest fail throughout the volume. It travels on gracefully and modestly, through the long and diversified development of Christian art, doing justice to everything good and pure, while unsparing in its condemnation of everything hurtful and base. The style is now and then cumbrous and harsh, but never obscure. Sometimes the reader is supposed to possess rather too much elementary knowledge; and sometimes subjects of vast interest are too scantily treated. But, with all its little drawbacks, this is a fascinating book, and one for the self-denying labour of which the author deserves the best thanks and encouragement of the public.

The Mountain Prophet, The Mine, and other Poems. By John Harris, Author of 'Lays from the Mine,' &c. London: Heylin. 1860.

THE author of these Poems, in his modest Preface, claims nothing more for them than 'the humble merit of originality and simplicity;' and we allow his claim with pleasure. Unequal to any sustained flight in the higher regions of poetry, and signally failing when he attempts to weave a continuous story, he is happiest in some sweet carol to a lark or a wild flower, and is most at home when descanting on the heath or the mountain side, or describing the dark caverns from whose dangers he is now happily delivered. His poem on 'The Mine' contains an interesting description of the operations of mining, and the habits of the miner. Parts of it, if 'tagged with rhyme,' might almost rival the Dutch paintings of Crabbe. Amongst the Minor Poems there are many deserving of notice; but we think that Mr. Harris will cramp his Muse, if he confines it so much to scenes of poverty and distress. Indeed, the effect may be just the reverse of what he intends. A very poor man, taking up this book to refresh his weary spirit, would not find in it so much to cheer and raise his mind as in the author's former efforts. While, therefore, we thank him for much that is good, we would warn him not to tie himself to the description of uncongenial scenes, but to go back, in his verse, to the moor and the hill; and to let his simple pages breathe the perfume of violets and the fresh mountain air in the face of the dweller in the city.

Essays on English Literature. By Thomas M'Nicoll. London: Pickering. 1861.

THE fact that the majority of the Essays in this volume are selected from the author's contributions to our own pages, would bar any claim to impartiality on our part, were we disposed to set one up; but we are not. We confess that we read the work with the zest of friendship, and the pride of literary relationship. Yet we honestly say, that so far as our own impression of what we have observed in reviewing goes, it is no advantage to an author, when his book is handled by a friend; for, if on the one hand predilection would lead him unduly to praise, such commendation generally betrays itself, and the fear of this hampers him so much, as to counterbalance the warmth of friendship. A worthless book may occasionally be puffed by a partial critic; but we feel perfectly certain that, as a rule, the most serviceable critiques on books of real merit come from those who are utter strangers to the author.

Our impression is, that were this volume from Pickering's press put into our hands some pleasant morning, in a country place, with leisure to read, and nature to smile upon us, we should read straight on, often stop to think, smile, make notes, occasionally wax ardent in our admiration, and return the book read through, with a deep persuasion that we had been regaled by a writer in whom pure and elevated literature had a devoted adherent, and an alluring representative. The literary gift is conspicuous in each separate Essay, and an unusual combination of literary accomplishments is manifested by the whole. It always keeps the reader awake, and with a pleasant sensation of being entertained. The Essay on Autobiographies is one of changing and vivacious interest: that on Milton and Pollok ranges high, and fills the mind with just views of sacred epics: that on Carlyle is strong and deep, but with that pellucid depth which admirers of such writers as Carlyle find it hard to admit, because the bottom can be seen by a good eye, which is never the case in muddy streams; depth such as that of Addison and Macaulay, and other masters of words, and therefore of thoughts, who often press into a perspicuous clause what others would bloat into a florid paragraph. The various beauty, acumen, and moral power of this Essay are extraordinary; and did Mr. M'Nicoll's claims as a man of letters rest on it alone, they would not be common. The introductory remarks on style are masterly, and we doubt whether the effect of a perfect style was ever better expressed than in the words, 'The reader will sensibly enjoy the presence of his author's mind.' Of Tennyson Mr. M'Nicoll is a great admirer, greater than we can warm ourselves into; but we have met with no one who gives such good reason for his admiration. The papers on Boswell's Letters and the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* are elegantly amusing: and, in fact, throughout the volume intellectual entertainment may be found in every page; intellectual cultivation, especially of the taste and literary sympathies, in most pages; and, not unfrequently, noble moral and religious impulse. Few volumes of Essays will do more to refresh the mind of an old man, or polish and enrich that of a young one.